

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF ANCIENT GANDHĀRA
AND WESTERN HIMALAYAS
from
ŚĀRADĀ EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES

ATANK TO THE PEOPLE OF THE
LAND AND THE SEA
AND THE AIR
AND THE FIRM LAND OF THE

History and Culture Of
Ancient Gandhāra and
Western Himalayas
From
Sārada Epigraphic Sources

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ARIANA PUBLISHING HOUSE
NEW DELHI

Subsidized by the Centre of Central Asian Studies,
University of Kashmir

1ST PUBLISHED 1985

GURDEEP SINGH SETHI
for Ariana Publishing House,
EG-132, Inderpuri, New Delhi-12

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Price Rs. 150.00

PRINTED IN INDIA

at Brother Enterprises, EG-132, Inderpuri, New Delhi-110012.

To
My Father-in-Law
SHRI KESHO NATH MUNSHI
the sole inspiration behind the book

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PREFACE

The value of the epigraphic records as the most authentic and dependable source of History in India has been long recognised. Ancient India did not produce any Herodotus, Strabo or Pliny and in the absence of genuine and authentic written records of History epigraphic records form the chief original source for the study of the history and culture of India's glorious past. Their value was recognised by the sole historian worth the name of ancient India named Kalhana who for writing his history of Kashmir consulted the extant epigraphic records of all types and was thus able "to overcome many errors" arising from other sources.

The ancient Indian scripts and inscriptions have been a subject of study of scholars now for more than hundred years and many a mystery connected with the history and culture of India have been unravalled. But it is rather unfortunate that the *Śāradā* script and the inscriptions incised in this alphabet hailing from an extensive area of the north-western part of the sub-continent especially from ancient Gandhāra (modern north-west Pakistan), Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh have not received the attention they deserve. A very brief account of the *Śāradā* alphabet has been given by G. Buhler in his *Indian Paleography* (English edition) p. 78 f.; by George Grierson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1916 pp. 677 ff. and somewhat detailed treatment but based purely on the inscriptions of Chamba has been given by J. Ph. Vogel in his monumental work the *Antiquities of Chamba State* Part I Introduction. A very comprehensive and a detailed study of the origin and development of the *Śāradā* script based on all *Śāradā* inscriptions discovered from different parts of the sub-continent to

date and illustrated with paleographic tables prepared after an intensive paleographic study of the characters employed in the *Śāradā* inscriptions and manuscripts has been attempted by the present writer in Section I (Origin and Development of the *Śāradā* script) of his *Corpus of the Śāradā Inscriptions of Kashmir* published in 1982.

In the present monograph the epigraphic records written in *Śāradā* characters and discovered to date have been taken up for critical analysis and detailed treatment. They present a very fascinating study. Thus the inscriptions of Chamba in the absence of any contemporary literary records have been found particularly useful in writing the history of this ancient hill State from the 8th century onwards in an almost continuous strain while till recently unedited *Śāradā* inscriptions of Kashmir sometimes furnish very interesting historical information not known from the literary sources. The inscriptions of Gandhāra have provided a sound base for the reconstruction of the history of the Śāhis of Kabul and Gandhāra. The Baijnath *Prastis* from Kangra acquaint us with a family of Ranas or feudatory chiefs that ruled for eight generations at Kīragrāma modern Baijnath and owed allegiance to the kings of Trigarta or Jālandhara. Besides their historical content the records furnish very interesting information regarding the contemporary social, economic and religious conditions of the regions represented by them.

Among the *Śāradā* epigraphic records it is only the inscriptions of Chamba which being pretty large in number, comparatively better preserved and detailed in character provide useful data for the study of the ancient geography of this hill State and furnish detailed information regarding the social organisation, position of women, administrative set up, agricultural operations, economic and religious conditions of the region. The cultural data furnished by our records from other regions is very meagre. However owing to the paucity of authentic contemporary literary sources even the scraps of information gleaned from these records are of considerable value and the same have been knit together in a way as to present more or less a coherent study.

The *Śāradā* inscriptions have been a subject of study of the

present writer for the past several years and some papers connected with them, e.g., Social and Economic conditions of ancient Chamba as gleaned from her inscriptions, Ancient Trigarta and the Baijnath *Prasastis*, Political History of Ancient Chamba, Unedited *Śāradā* Inscriptions of Kashmir, Fountain Stone inscriptions of ancient Chamba, Some Place Names in the *Śāradā* inscriptions, Important *Śāradā* inscriptions of Kashmir—a Socio-Political study, etc. have already appeared in reputed journals and felicitation volumes. It has been his earnest wish, however, to incorporate all regions represented by the *Śāradā* records in a single volume and his desire has taken shape in the form of the present monograph which presents a story of the history and culture of ancient Gandhāra and western Himālayan kingdoms of Kashmir, Chamba and Kangra on the basis of the data gleaned from the *Śāradā* inscriptions discovered in these regions and belonging mostly to 9th—13th century A.D.

Now to give a brief analysis of the chapters contained in the monograph, chapter I (Introduction) contains a brief account of the *Śāradā* alphabet and of a few important inscriptions and manuscripts written in this script. The historical information gleaned from the *Śāradā* inscriptions has been analysed and discussed in chapter II (Political History) in the background of the early history of Gandhāra, Chamba and Kangra. In case of Kashmir the ancient history of which is too well known only the additional information furnished by our records has been discussed. Social life mainly of the people of Chamba and Kangra forms the subject of the chapter III (Social Life) while the economic conditions of the people of these two ancient hill states have been discussed in chapter IV (Economic Conditions). The account has been supplimented by the information though very meagre furnished by our records from other regions. Chamba is the only region which has yielded useful and well preserved copper plate charters containing a detailed list of officials addressed at the time of the execution of the land grants. On the basis of these lists and official titles and designations mentioned in several fountain stone inscriptions of the area a study of the administrative set up as obtained in this hill State during the period represented by our records has been attempted in chapter IV (Administration). The official

titles mentioned in our records from other States have also been fully discussed in the chapter. Chap. VI contains a discussion on the religious conditions of ancient Gandhāra, Kashmir, Chamba and Kangra as reflected in our records. The better preserved and detailed inscriptions from different regions have been taken up for a comprehensive literary study in chapter VII so as to form an idea of the state of Sanskrit learning as obtained in our regions during the periods represented by the records. Geographical data gleaned from our inscriptions forms the subject of the seventh and last chapter. The records do not furnish any information regarding the system of education and art and architecture of the regions and periods represented by them. Hence the same could not be included in the present study. For our discussions on Chamba J. Ph. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I has been fully utilized. This scholarly and monumental work will for ever remain an indispensable source book for a student of the ancient history and culture of this old hill State. For the benefit of the readers an upto date list of the *Śāradā* inscriptions has been given in the appendix while the photographs of the important inscriptions have been given at the end.

The monograph is placed with all humility in the hands of the scholars for their esteemed opinions and suggestions. The author is fully conscious of his limitations and also aware of the fact that some errors and mistakes might have crept in the volume. He, however, craves the indulgence of the readers for the same.

I must acknowledge my profound sense of gratitude to my revered *Guru* Prof. Jagannath Agrawal who first initiated me in the subject. The affection that he always showers on me in abundance and his choicest blessings will for ever remain the most precious treasures of my life.

I am equally highly grateful to our ex-Director Prof. Maqbul Ahmad for his encouragement and inspiration. But for him, an ardent lover of hard conscientious work the monograph would not have seen the light of the day. I am also thankful to our present Director, Dr. K.N. Pandita for taking pains to see that the monograph was printed well and in time. My thanks are due to Librarian and the staff of the Library of Research and

Publications Department, J&K Government Srinagar, Central Library of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, National Library, Calcutta, Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, Library of the V.B. and Vishveshvaranand Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Punjab University, Hoshiarpur and the Punjab University Library Chandigarh; to the Curators of the Bhuri Singh Museum Chamba, S.P.S. Museum Srinagar, National Museum New Delhi and Indian Museum Calcutta for the manifold facilities provided to me.

I am highly beholden to the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India for permission to reprint some photographs of the Śāradā inscriptions from *Ahtiquities of Chamba State* and *Epigraphia Indica*.

Last but not the least I am highly grateful to my colleagues and students of the Centre for their unstinted help and assistance, and to my father-in-law Shri Kesho Nath Munshi and my wife Nirja who have been the sole inspiration behind all my research pursuits.

Srinagar
January 1, 1985

B.K. Kaul Deambi

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5. Khonamuh (Kashmir) Stone Inscription of the Reign of Jayanolabadana Shah (Zainul-abidin)
6. Hariparbat (Srinagar, Kashmir) Grave Stone Inscription of the Reign of Muhammad Shah.
7. Sarahan (Chamba, H.P.) Praśasti.
8. Sungal (Chamba, H.P.) Copper Plate Inscription of Vidagdhadeva.
9. Kulait (Chamba, H.P.) Copper Plate Inscription of Somavarman.
10. Salhi (Chamba, H.P.) Fountain Stone.
11. Sai Fountain Stone.

Abbreviations

Antiquities.	Vogel. J.Ph., <i>Antiquities of Chamba State Part I.</i>
AS.	Kautalya, <i>Atrhaśāstra</i>
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India.
ASI. An. Rep.	Archaeological Survey of India, <i>Annual Report.</i>
ASR.	Cunningham, A. Archaeological Survey of India, <i>Report.</i>
AV.	<i>Atharva Veda</i>
CIL.	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i>
DHI.	Ray, H.C., <i>Dynastic History of India.</i>
EI.	<i>Epigraphia Indica.</i>
Handbook.	Kak, R.C., <i>Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of S.P.S. Museum Srinagar.</i>
History.	Elliot, <i>History of India as told by its own Historians.</i>
HPS.	Vogel., <i>History of Punjab Hill States.</i>
HRS.	Ghoshal, U.N., <i>Contributions to the History of the Revenue System.</i>
IC.	Indian Culture.
IE.	Sircar, D.C., <i>Indian Epigraphy.</i>
IHQ.	<i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i>
Ind. Ant.	<i>Indian Antiquary.</i>
JA.	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JASB.	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
JBBRAS.	<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society.</i>
JNSI.	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.</i>
JRAS:	<i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.</i>

- Kashmir Report. Bühler, G., Detailed Report of a Town in
Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Made in
Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India.
- Mar. Pu. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*
- MBh. *Mahābhārata.*
- MS. *Manu Smṛti.*
- MW. Monier William, Sankrit English Dictionary.
- Note. Marshall, Note on Archaeological Work in
Kashmir.
- Note. Sten konow, Note on a Tour in Kashmir
- NS. *Nārada Smṛti*
- RT. *Kalhaṇa, Rajatarāṅgiṇī*, Ed. A. Stein.
- RV. *R̥gveda*
- SNS. *Śukranitisāra*
- Śāradā Deambi, B.K., *Corpus of the Śāradā Inscriptions*
Inscriptions. *of Kashmir.*
- VIJ. Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Hoshiar-
pur.
- Ys. *Yajñavalkya Smṛti.*
- Z.D.M.G. *Zeitschrift der Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft,*
Seipzig and Wiebaden.

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CHAPTER I

THE ŚĀRADĀ ALPHABET AND INSCRIPTIONS

Śāradā alphabet is the direct descendant of the Brāhmī alphabet of north western India of the sixth, seventh and the eighth centuries as found among others in the Nirmand (district Kangra) plate of Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Samudrasena,² the Hatun (Gilgit) rock inscription of Paṭoladeva Śāhī,³ the Gilgit manuscripts,⁴ coins of Pravarasena, Toramāṇa and of the Kārkoṭa rulers of Kashmir,⁵ and Bharamaor and Chattraḥi inscriptions of Meruvarman (Chamba, H.P.).⁶ The earliest known records in which the Śāradā characters appear for the first time are the coins of the Utpala dynasty of Kashmir (9th century)⁷ and a brief record incised on the fragment of a broken jar discovered from the precincts of the Avantisvāmī temple and containing the name of Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.), the founder of the temple.⁸ Of about the same date is the Sarahan *Praśasti* of queen Somaprabhā, spouse of Sātyaki, a ruling Chieftain of Sarahan opposite Saho in ancient Chamba.⁹ Among the other records of slightly later date, mention may be made of the Dewai (Pakistan) inscription of the Shāhi king Bhīmadeva (10th century),¹⁰ the Srinagar (now Lahore Museum), and the S.P.S. Museum inscriptions of the reign of queen Diddā (A.D. 980/1-1003),¹¹ the Bharamour and Sungal (District Chamba) copper plate inscriptions of king Yugākara-varman and his son Vidagdhadeva,¹² Barikot and Hund (Pakistan) inscriptions of the Shāhi king Jayapāla¹³ and a few other inscriptions from Hund including that of the queen Kameśvaridevī.¹⁴

Śāradā is the alphabet of Kashmir par excellence and remained in use for several centuries in an extensive area of north western India including Gandhāra or north western

Pakistan, Ladakh, Jammu, Himachal Pradesh, Panjab and Delhi. The alphabet continued to be used in Himachal Pradesh and Panjab upto the 13th century when it was replaced by its descendant the Devāṣeṣa which in turn gave rise to the modern alphabets of Gurumukhī and Tākārī. In Kashmir, however, its use continues to this day though it is confined to the older generation of the priestly class.

Considering the extent of the region over which the Śāradā alphabet remained in use for a long time, the number of Śāradā epigraphic records discovered so far is by no means very large. In all 98 inscriptions have been discovered so far, 13 in north western Pakistan, 34 in Kashmir, 6 in Jammu, 5 in Ladakh, 36 in Chamba, 3 in Kangra and one in Delhi.

On the basis of the Śāradā characters used in these records, three successive stages of development of the Śāradā alphabet can easily be discerned. The earliest phase is represented by the inscriptions and coins of 9th-10th centuries, the second by those of the 11th-13th centuries and the third and final by the epigraphic and literary records of the 14th and the subsequent centuries.

While the use of the Śāradā alphabet in the inscriptions dates from the 9th century A.D. its use in the manuscripts, however, is not known until the 12th century when we find it first used in a manuscript discovered from the village Bakhshali in the Peshawar district of Pakistan.¹⁵ The manuscript which contains an important work on Mathematics bears no date but on palaeographic grounds can be assigned to the 12th century. Next in date is an old birch bark manuscript of *Munimata-maṇi-mālā* which is the earliest known Śāradā manuscript discovered so far in Kashmir and assignable on paleographic grounds to the 14th century.¹⁶ The other early known manuscripts are the birch bark manuscript of *Śākuntala*,¹⁷ birch bark manuscript of the *Ādi* and *Sabhā Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*¹⁸ and the birch bark manuscript of *Kathāsarita Sāgara*,¹⁹ all assignable to 16th century.

ŚĀRADĀ INSCRIPTIONS

Gandhāra

As pointed out above, about a dozen Śāradā inscriptions have come to light from ancient Gandhāra or north western

Pakistan so far. Most of these are either fragmentary or defaced and now lying in the Lahore and Peshawar Museums. The earliest known inscription is the Dewai inscription of the Shāhi king Bhīmadeva. The other important inscriptions are those of the Shāhi king Jayapāla discovered from Barikot in upper Swat and Hund ancient *Udabhāṇḍapura* dated 146 and of queen Kāmeśvaridevī dated 154-157. The last known inscription from the region is the stone inscription of certain Vaṇhadaka now preserved in the Peshawar museum and dated *Laukika* 538 or A.D. 1461.²⁰

As will be seen in the sequel, the Śāradā inscriptions from Gandhāra, though very brief and fragmentary, constitute an important source of information regarding the Shāhi rulers of Kabul and Gandhāra and help us solve some of the problems connected with the history of this famous dynasty—an account of which has been preserved for us by al-Bīrūnī in his *Kitāb-ul-Hind*.

Kashmir

Considering the fact that the Śāradā alphabet has been in use in Kashmir from the 9th century A.D. to this day and also taking into account the explicit statement of Kalhaṇa that he studied and made use of all types of inscriptions including the land grants for writing his Chronicle,²¹ the number of Śāradā epigraphic records discovered so far in the Valley is by no means large and surprisingly not a single copper plate inscription registering the grant of land has been discovered so far. The earliest specimens are the legends on the coins of the Utpala (or Varman) dynasty and the fragmentary inscription mentioning the name of Avantivarman referred to above.²² Next in date are the two inscriptions of the reign of queen Diddā (A.D. 980/110030) referred to above, one incised on a stone slab discovered from a private house in Srinagar dated (*Laukika*) 68 or A.D. 992 and the second on the pedestal of an image of Budhisattva Padmapāṇi dated (*Laukika*) 65 or A.D. 989 preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar. The other important inscriptions are : Tapar stone lintel inscription of the reign of Paramāṇḍadeva, (*Laukika*) 33 or A.D. 1157²³,

Arigom stone slab inscription of the (*Laukika*) year 73 or A.D. 1197.²⁴ The Kotihen (district Anantnag) inscription of the reign of Shāhabadēna (Shihāb-u-Dīn), dated (*Laukika*) 45 or A.D. 1369,²⁵ the Khonamuh stone slab inscription of the reign of Jayanola-Uadēna Shāha (Zain-ul-ābidīn) dated Kali 4530 or A.D. 1428.²⁶ The last known inscription from Kashmir belongs to the end of the 18th century. It has been discovered at Digom or Kapala Mochan in the Pulwama district and is dated (*Vikram*) 1846 or A.D. 1789.²⁷

The inscriptions of Kashmir mostly preserved in part do not add much to our information regarding the history and culture of Kashmir but they are usually dated and help us verify the correctness of the chronology as given by Kalhaṇa and his successors. They also contain at times very useful information about the contemporary culture of ancient and mediaeval Kashmir.

Ladakh

A few inscriptions in Śārada characters were noticed in the Ladakh area by Vigne,²⁸ Cunningham,²⁹ and Francke.³⁰ Two of them discovered at Dras contain mention of the Budhisattva Maitreya. One of them is dated in the 7th year probably of the *Laukika* era.

Jammu

In the Jammu province a few inscriptions in Śārada characters have come to light. Two of them were discovered at Dacchan³¹ and Zaji-Nai³² in the Doda district. That of Dachhan is dated in the reign of Śrī Nanta-deva who may be identified with the king Ananta of Kashmir (A.D. 1028-1063). It is dated in the year 12 presumably of the *Laukika* era and corresponds to A.D. 1036. The other is comparatively of a late period and on paleographic grounds can be assigned to the 16th century A.D. Two more inscriptions were noticed by Vogel, one in a ruined temple on the ancient site of Babor, ancient Babapur 17 miles each of Jammu³³ and the other on a stone liṅga at Kishtwar.³⁴ Both the inscriptions are now too much defaced to be deciphered.

Chamba

Chamba is the only place in the western Himalayas which has yielded a pretty large number of Śāradā inscriptions of diverse types consisting of rock and stone inscriptions, image inscriptions, copper plate inscriptions and the fountain stone inscriptions.³⁵ The earliest Śāradā record as noted above is a beautifully executed inscription from Sarahan which contains a lovely poem in praise of the beauty of Somaprabhā, the wife of Sātyaki, a hill Chieftain, in an elegant and well-embellished Kāvya style. The most important and the well preserved inscriptions are the copper plate charters issued by the rulers of Chamba like Yugkāravarman, Vidagdhadeva, Somavarman and Āsaṭa. These charters are not only important for constituting an important source of information regarding the ancient history of Chamba but are important for their geographical contents as well. They contain mention of some ancient districts and villages of Chamba and thus throw some light on the ancient geography of the state as well. They are also valuable source of information regarding the system of administration as it prevailed in ancient Chamba since they contain mention of several administrative titles and designations. Their value is still more enhanced by the fact that they constitute the only specimens of this type of epigraphs that have come to light in the entire north western hill region of the country so far.

A very important group of Śāradā records and unique of its type is formed by those engraved on the elegantly carved fountain slabs discovered from different parts of Chamba and now preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum in Chamba town.³⁶ These slabs were erected at springs by the pious donors for earning religious merit. The inscriptions on these slabs are particularly important from historical point of view. While the copper plate inscriptions are dated only in the regnal years of the kings, these often contain dates both in the regnal years of the kings and in the *Śāstra* era the local designation of the *Laukika* or *Saptarṣi* era commonly used in Kashmir and the hills.

This no doubt helps to a certain degree to build up the chronology of the ancient rulers of Chamba on more or less

sound basis. The records are again historically very important for they show that the state was divided into small principalities ruled by Chieftains called Rājānakas who, however, owed allegiance to the rulers of Chamba or sometimes to the rulers of the neighbouring hill state of Vallāpura (Balor) in whose regnal years they dated their records.

Kangra

Only a limited number of Śāradā records has come to light in Kangra so far. The most important and the well preserved inscriptions are the well known Baijnath *Praśastis* incised on two large stone slabs in the famous temple of Baijnatha at Baijnath (ancient Kīragrāma) in the Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh.⁸⁷ The *Praśasti* No. I gives an account of the construction of a temple in honour of lord Vaidyanātha (Baijnath in vernacular) by two merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka and records the donations made to it by some pious individuals. It is dated in the year 80 of the reign of Jayacandra, the lord of Trigarta to whom the ruling Chief of Kīragrāma, Lakṣamaṇa-candra owed allegiance. The date of the *Praśasti Sam Jyeṣṭha Śukla Pratipat* corresponds to 2nd of May, 1204 A.D. The *Praśasti* No. II contains a brief account of the baronial house of Kīragrāma to which Lakṣamaṇa Candra belonged. It is dated in the Saka year 1126 corresponding to A.D. 1204.

Another record worthy of note from Kangra is a brief inscription engraved on the pedestal of a statuette of Jain *Tirthāṅkara* Pārśvanātha dated (*Laukika*) samvat 30 corresponding to A.D. 1254.⁸⁸

Delhi

The use of the Śāradā alphabet in Delhi is attested to by a stone slab inscription discovered from a well at Palam 12 miles south west of Delhi. Only the concluding portion of the inscription is in the Śāradā, the rest is in Nāgarī.

It is dated *Vikram-Samvat* 1337, *Śrāvaṇa Va Ti* 13, Wednesday, corresponding either to the 26th June, 1280 A.D. or to 13th August 1281 A.D. in the reign of Sultan Ghiya Thud-Din (Ghayas-u-Din) Balban.⁸⁹

SARADA AND TAKARI ALPHABETS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

The Śāradā Alphabet

Delhi 2007.

7

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1. For a comprehensive account of the Śāradā alphabet illustrated with paleographic tables see the author's *Corpus of the Śāradā Inscriptions of Kashmir* Section I, *Origin and Development of the Śāradā Script*, Delhi, 1982, ~~SARADA~~.
2. Fleet, J.F., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vo. III (Inscriptions of Early Gupta kings and their Successors) Varanasi, 1963, pp. 286 ff., Plate XLIV.
3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, pp. 226 ff. Plate No. 36
4. Facsimilies edited by D. Raghubir and Dr. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1963; *Gilgit Manuscripts*. Edited by N. Dutt, Srinagar, 1939.
5. Cunningham, A., *Coins of Mediaeval India*, pp. 25 ff. Hindu Coinage of Kashmir, Plates III & IV. Quite a good number of coins of these kings is also preserved in the numismatic section of the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.
6. Vogel, J. P., *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, Calcutta, 1911, Nos. 5-8, pp. 138 ff. Plates VII-X For other pre-Śāradā records of Chamba, see *Ibid* Nos. 9-12, Plates XI-XIII.
7. Cunningham, *Op. Cit.* Plate IV.
8. Deambi, Kaul, B.K., *Corpus of the Śāradā Inscriptions of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1982, No. 33, pp. 133 ff. Plate 13. In my earlier account of the Śāradā alphabet, given in my work quoted above I relying upon the statement of D. R. Sahni who referred the dates mentioned in the Hund inscription of queen Kāmeśvarīdevī to the Harsa era described the inscription under reference as the earliest known record of the Śāradā alphabet. Recently more inscriptions from this region have now been published which are dated in the similar fashion and it is now believed that the dates recorded in these epigraphs cannot be referred to the Harsa era but to some unspecified era, the identity of which has yet to be established.
9. Vogel, *Op. Cit.* pp. 152 ff., Plate XV.
10. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, p. 298 and Plate.
11. Deambi, *Op. Cit.*, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 97 ff. Plates 1.22.
12. Vogel, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 159, ff. Plate XVI & pp. 164 ff. Plate XVII.
13. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, pp. 97 ff. and Plate.
14. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 301 f. and Plate; Abdur Rahman, *Journal of Central Asia*, pp. 71 ff. and Plate.
15. The manuscript has been edited with facsimilies by G. R. Kaye in *Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series*, Vol XLIII, parts I and II.
16. The manuscript now in a deplorable condition is preserved in the Sanskrit Manuscripts Library of the Department of Research and Publications, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar.
17. The manuscript represents the Kashmirian recension of Kalidasas

Abhijñāna Śākuntala. It was purchased by George Bühler in 1875 in Kashmir and is mentioned in the Deccan College Catalogue of 1875/76 under No. 192.

Also cf. Bühler, *Kashmir Report*, p. 62 *Indian Paleography*, Plate VI, Col. VIII; *Ancedota Oxonancia*, *Arian Series*, 1, 3, Plate 6.

18. This manuscript was purchased by Bühler in Kashmir and has been described by him in his *Kashmir Report*, p. 64. It is mentioned in the Deccan College Catalogue of 1875/76 under No. 159 and has been utilised for the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* (edited by Dr. V. S. Sukhtankar) and its siglum is S₁ in the critical apparatus of the said edition.
19. Preserved in the Sanskrit Manuscripts. Library of the Research and Publications Department, Jammu and Kashmir Govt., Srinagar.
20. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, pp. 79 ff. and Plate.
21. *Rājatarangini*, Edited by A. Stein, *Taranga I*, verse 15.
22. To the same period probably belongs the fragmentary stone inscription from Martand (district Anantnag), Deambi, *Op. Cit.* No. 15, pp. 136 ff. R. S. Pandit, Translation of the *Rājatarangini* Allahabad, 1935, Plate XI.
23. Deambi, *Op. Cit.*, No. 4, pp. 103 ff. and Plate.
24. *Ibid.* No. 6, pp. 107 ff. and Plate; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, pp. 300 ff. and Plate.
25. *Ibid.* No. 8 pp. 113 ff. and Plate.
26. *Ibid.* No. 9 pp. 119 ff. and Plate.
27. *Ibid.* No. 13, pp. 131 f.; *JASB*, Vol. V.II pp. 87-89.
28. Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir Ladakh and Iskardo* London, 1842, Vol. II, p. 393.
29. Cunningham, A., *Ladakh-Physical, Statistical and Historical*, London, 1854, p. 31.
30. Francke, A. H., *History of Western Tibet*, London, 1907, p. 52.
31. Deambi, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 150 f. and Plate, Kak, R. C., *Antiquities of Marev Wadwan*, Srinagar, 1933, pp. 24 f. and Plate.
32. *Ibid.* pp. 151 f., Kak, *Op. Cit.* pp. 12-14.
33. *JRAS* (1907), p. 405.
34. Vogel, *Op. Cit.*. List of Śāradā Inscriptions, Appendix I, p. 258,
35. These have been edited and published by Vogel in his *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I.
36. Cf. Deambi, Ancient Fountain Stone Inscriptions of Chamba, *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, VII, pp. 30 ff.
37. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. pp. 97, ff. cf. Deambi, Ancient Kangra and the *Bajjnath Prasastis*, *Vishveshvara-nanda Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur Vol. XIX. pp. 178 ff.
38. *Ibid.* p. 120.
39. *JASB*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 104 ff.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL HISTORY

As pointed out above, the Śāradā epigraphic records discovered so far mostly hail from Gandhāra or north-western Pakistan, Kashmir, Chamba and Kangra. In this chapter we shall discuss the historical information gleaned from them and see what light they throw on the political history of the regions represented by them.

A. GANDHARA

Gandhāra has yielded very small number of Śāradā inscriptions most of which are either fragmentary or defaced. Only a few of these possess some historical value in as much as they contain mention of some well known kings who ruled Gandhāra in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries. Before we discuss the historical content of these records it would be worthwhile to trace in outline the early history of this famous kingdom of north-western India which serving as the corridor of India has been one of the world's most effective melting pots.

Gandhāra is the later form of *Gandhārī* mentioned in the *R̥gveda* and the *Atharvaveda* as the name of the people in the north-west of India.¹ In the *R̥gveda* the good wool of the sheep of the Gandhāris is referred to.² In the *Atharvaveda* the Gandhāris are mentioned along with the *Mujavantas*, *Āngas* and the *Magadhas*.³ In the *Aitreya Brāhmaṇa* Gandhāra figures as the name of a country ruled by certain Nagnajit.⁴

In the Buddhist text *Āṅguttara Nikāya* Gandhāra is mentioned among the sixteen great kingdoms (*Solasamahājana padas*) that existed in northern India in the 6th century B.C.⁵ At the time when the Buddhist cannon was formulated, the

territory of Gandhāra lay on both sides of the Indus and included the districts of Rawalpindi and Attock to the east of the Indus and those of Peshawar, Bannu and Kohat to its west.

In the middle of the sixth century B.C. Gandhāra was ruled by king Pukkusāti who was contemporary of the king Bimbisāra of Magadha.⁶ In the later half of the sixth century B.C. Gandhāra seems to have passed under the domination of the Achemanian rulers since in the Bahistun inscription of Darius a country or a people named Gandhāra is mentioned among the possessions of that ruler.⁷ Gandhāra those days appears to have been famous for teak wood. For the great palace that Darius built at Susa the teak wood was obtained from Gandhāra.

Gandhāra was known to the Greeks as *Gandhārites* and its celebrated capital Puṣkalāvati as *Peukelaotes*. At the time of the Macedonian invasion, the eastern part of Gandhāra was ruled by Omphis or Āmbi whereas the western portion with its capital at Puṣkarāvati or Greek *Peukelaotes* was ruled by Astes or Aṣṭakarāja.⁸ It was at *Udabhāṇḍepura* modern Ohind or Und, the flourishing city of Gandhāra that the Macedonian conqueror Alexander received the embassy of king Āmbhī in 326 B.C. The invasion of Alexander did not result in any permanent Macedonian occupation of this region but was indirectly responsible for the subsequent establishment of Greek art and culture in Gandhāra.

Within a few years of the departure of the Macedonian conqueror the whole region of Gandhāra was brought by the Maurya king Candragupta under his sway. The Maurya rule in Gandhāra continued under Asoka whose inscriptions in Kharosthī and Aramaic characters have been found in this region.⁹ From the Buddhist Jātakas and the Greek sources we learn that Takṣaśilā modern Taxila was the capital city of Gandhāra and enjoyed for several centuries a great reputation as a university town famous for the arts and sciences of the day.

The Maurya rule in Gandhāra was supplanted by that of the Indo-Greeks. The greatest among the Indo-Greeks was Menānder who is the hero of the famous Buddhist work

Milinda Pañho which contains a dialogue on several important topics concerning Buddhism between Menānder and the great Buddhist savant Nāgasena. The coins of almost all the Indo-Greek rulers except those of the Agathocles and Pantaleon bear legends in the Kharoṣṭhī characters on the reverse besides the Greek on the obverse. On the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon we have Brāhmī instead of the Kharoṣṭhī.

Shortly before the commencement of the Christian era Gandhāra was conquered by the Śakas under Maues. The Śakas were supplanted by the Pārthians under Gondophernes whose inscription in the Kharoṣṭhī characters has been discovered at Takht-i-Bahi in the Peshawar district.¹⁰

The Śaka and the Parthian rule in Gandhāra was followed by that of the Kuṣāṇas. The greatest king of the dynasty named Kaniṣka ruled with Puruṣapura or Peshawar as his capital. The marvellous 400 feet high relic tower that he built at Puruṣapura was a wonder of the age and evoked high admiration in the minds of Chinese pilgrims Sun-Yun and Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the sixth and seventh centuries respectively. The Kuṣāṇa age may be regarded as the classical age in the history of Gandhāra, the age marked by unprecedented development in art, science and literature. It was during this period that Buddhism especially its Mahāyāna sect attained phenomenal popularity and the famous school of art called the Gandhāra art born in the crucible of Gandhāra witnessed spectacular growth. The early imperial Kuṣāṇas employed Greek script on their coins. However, in the inscriptions of their regime Kharoṣṭhī is exclusively used. During the time of the later Kuṣāṇas usually called the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas Brāhmī appears on their coinage. We have also a Brāhmī inscription of certain Kadambeśvaradāsa discovered at Abbottabad in the Hazara district.¹¹ It is dated in the year 25 which according to D.C. Sircar refers to the Gupta era and corresponds to A.D. 344¹²

During the weak rule of the later kings of the imperial Kuṣāṇa dynasty Gandhāra appears to have passed for some time into the hands of the Sassanians who had established a big empire in Persia. In the famous Trilingual inscription of Shāhpur I engraved on the outer walls of the fire temple at

Naksh-i-Rustam (Iran) we find the large part of Kuṣāṇa territory in Kabul and Gandhāra under the control of the Sasanids.¹³ A large number of Sasanid coin types have been found in this region. Kuṣāṇas seem to have soon asserted independence under Kidāra a large number of whose coins with the Brāhmī legend *Kidāra-Kuṣāṇa-Śāha* has been found in Gandhāra.¹⁴

The Kuṣāṇa rule in Gandhāra seems to have continued till the middle of the 5th century A.D. when it was followed by that of the Hūṇas. The Hūṇa power collapsed about the middle of the 6th century A.D. and soon after Gandhāra came under the sway of the Turkish Shāhi dynasty which flourished in Kabul and Gandhāra and ruled till the middle of the 9th century A.D.

An account of this dynasty has been given by al-Bīrūnī who describes the rulers of this dynasty as of Tibetan origin. "The Hindus" says al-Bīrūnī, "had kings residing in Kabul, Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin."¹⁵ The first ruler of this dynasty according to al-Bīrūnī was Barhatikin who brought the neighbouring countries under his sway and ruled them under the title of a Shāhiya of Kabul. Al-Bīrūnī's statement is corroborated by Oukong who visiting Gandhāra in the years 753-754 A.D. found that country under the rule of a family of Turkish origin. At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit the Turkish Shāhi rulers of Gandhāra were subject to the sway of Kashmir¹⁶ and continued to remain so till the reign of Lalitāditya in whose court some of the Shāhi princes held very high offices.¹⁷ The capital of this dynasty was at *Udabhāṇḍapura*. *Waihind* of al-Bīrūnī and identified with modern Und or Hund, a village situated on the right bank of the Indus about fifteen miles above Attock.¹⁸

Kalarapāla

The last ruler of this dynasty named Laghutarman was according to al-Bīrūnī, imprisoned by his Brāhmaṇa wazīr Kallar who founded an independent dynasty called the Hindu Shāhi dynasty.¹⁹ No other information about Kallar is furnished by al-Bīrūnī. He is, however, mentioned in our earliest Śāradā record from Gandhāra discovered from Dewai

near Hazara in the Gadun territory in Pakistan.²⁰ The inscription belongs to the Shāhi king Bhīmadeva who is described in the record as *Śrīkalara (pā) la vaṃśodbhava*, i.e. born in the lineage of the illustrious Kalarapāla. So the account of al-Bīrūnī regarding the name of the founder of the Brahman Shāhi dynasty is corroborated by epigraphic evidence.

Kalhaṇa in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* mentions Shāhi king named Lalliya who was contemporary of Śaṅkaravarma of Kashmir (A.D. 883-910) and who ruled with his capital at *Udabhāṇḍapura*.²¹ His kingdom was situated between the Daradas who occupied the territory extending from Citral and Yasin across the Indus regions of Gilgit, Cilas and Bunji to the Kishenganga valley in the immediate north of Kashmir²² and the Turuṣkas, the Muslim invaders who checked by the Shāhis were attempting to break their strongholds and advance into the Indian territory.

This Lalliya Shāhi of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is identified with Kallar of al-Bīrūnī.²³ The description of Lalliya's power, his capital and the territory over which he ruled make it highly probable that Lalliya Shāhi and Kallar denote the same person. But there is apparent difficulty in accepting this identification. The account of the Brāhmaṇa Shāhis as given by al-Bīrūnī must be fairly reliable as he is the earliest authority on the subject and the period of the Shāhis he was dealing with was nearer to his own times and if Lalliya was the founder of the Brāhmaṇa Shāhi dynasty al-Bīrūnī would have given the name of the founder, as such, and not Kallar. It has been suggested by Prof. Syelbold that the writing Kallar in the single Arabic manuscript of the al-Bīrūnī's *Indica*, as we have it, is a mistake for Lalliya and errors in copying the proper names are not rare in the Arabic manuscripts owing to their palaeographic peculiarities.²⁴ However, in the face of our definite epigraphic evidence cited above it is difficult to presume that the founder of the Brāhmaṇa Shāhi family was Lalliya and not Kallar. The Dewai inscription referred to above would have us believe that the full name of the founder of Brāhmaṇa Shāhi dynasty was Kalarapāla and Kallar might be his short or Arabic name.

A large number of silver and copper coins with humped bull and Trīśūla of Śiva on the obverse has been found which

contain the Śāradā legend *Syālpāti* or *Sapalapātideva*.²⁵ The *Sapalapāti* of the coins has been identified by Thomas with our Shāhi king Kallar.²⁶ Although there is absolutely no similarity between the names Syalpati and Kallar, Thomas considers them as one and the same on the assumption that the Arabic copyists commit great mistakes while transcribing Sanskrit name into Arabic. He also points out that keeping in view the mistakes of the Arabic copyists we should instead of endeavouring to identify Hindu names through the names of the Arabic manuscripts correct the Arabic from the unquestionable record of the coins themselves and instead of applying coins to the kings we should apply kings to their own coins. However, this view of Edward Thomas is not accepted by scholars like Eliot who says: "This is carrying speculation to an extreme and there is no warrant whatever for the presumed identification."²⁷ According to Cunningham *Spalapāti* corresponding to Sanskrit *Smarapāti* war-lord or commander-in-chief, was the actual title of the war minister in Iran, Parthia, Hyrkania and Armenia. He proposes to take Kallar as the personal name of the king and *Spalapāti* the designation by which he was actually known.²⁸ Pratipal Bhatia attributes the first issue of bull and horseman type coins with the legend *Spalapāti*, resembling according to her the Hūṇa coinage to Barhatkin.²⁹ The latest issue of the same series bearing the letter *ka* on the reverse is attributed by her to Kallar on the contention that the letter *ka* represents the abbreviation of the name Kallar.³⁰

No more information is available about Kalarapāla either from our records or from the numismatic sources. He is, however, credited with the foundation of a temple called after his own name Kallar or Sassida Kallar and situated about three miles due south of the village of Shah Muhammad Wali in the Attock district.³¹

Sāmāntadeva

Kalarapāla or Kallar as per al-Bīrūnī's list was succeeded by Sāmānt.³² No epigraphic record of his reign has been dis-

covered so far. He is however, identified with king Sāmantadeva of copper coins having a conch shell with the legend *Sāmantadeva* along the margin above and the lanced horseman on the reverse.³³ The coins with the Śāradā legend Sāmantadeva have been found in very large numbers and the same type was continued for a very long time not only by the Shāhis but also by the Tomaras and the Cāhamanas and after them by the Muslim conquerors. Sāmantadeva thus appears to have been a very powerful king and it is not unlikely that the king Sāmān of al-Bīrūnī is the same as Sāmantadeva of the copper coins.³⁴

Kamalu

According to al-Bīrūnī, Sāmān was succeeded by Kamalu.³⁵ Al-Bīrūnī does not as usual furnish any information about the king. Kamalu is, however, identified with Kamalova described as Rai of Hindustan by Muhammad Auḡi in his *Jawami' ul Hikāyāt* and a contemporary of the Saffarid prince Aur ibn Layth (A.D. 879-900) against whom he is started to have fought a battle at Sakavand situated at a distance of nine kms. from the town of Baraki-Barak in Afghanistan.³⁶

According to Kalhaṇa, Prabhākaradeva, the superintendent of the treasury (*koṣādhyakṣa*) of king Gopālavarman (A.D. 902-904) vanquished the Shāhi kingdom at *Udabhāṇḍapura* and bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious Shāhi upon Toramāṇa, Lalliya's son, and gave him the (new) name Kamaluka.³⁷ Kamalu of al-Bīrūnī and *Jawami' ul-Hikāyāt* is identified with Kamaluka of the *Rājatarāṅgīnī*.³⁸

While it is possible to agree that Kamalu of al-Bīrūnī and Kamloa of Muhammad Auḡi are identical it is difficult to place reliance on Kalhaṇa's account. He, for reasons unknown, does not give the name of the rebellious Shāhi. Again Gopālavarman's date as given by Kalhaṇa³⁹ does not fit in the chronological sequence as given by Auḡi⁴⁰ according to which Kamalu ascended the throne much before Gopālavarman. Again it is highly doubtful if the campaign of Gopālavarman's officer against the Shāhis is based on fact. From what is recorded in the *Rājatarāṅgīnī* about Śaṅkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) one of

the most powerful rulers of Kashmir and predecessor of Gopālavarman it is clear that he could not make much headway against the Shāhis.⁴¹ It is doubtful if Gopālavarman who has no conquest to his credit and who ruled only for two years could have launched a campaign against the more powerful Shāhis.

No epigraphic record of Kamalu has come to light so far.

Bhīmadeva

The next ruler according to al-Bīrūnī was Bhīma who is no doubt the same ruler known to us from the Dewai inscription of his reign referred to above, from the Hund slab inscription of the time of his successor Jayapāladeva⁴² and from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.⁴³ The Dewai inscription describes Bhīma as Shāhi and with sovereign titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*. He is also described as *gadā-hasta* which may indicate his Vaiṣṇavite leanings. He is also described, as born in the lineage of Kalarapāla. In the Hund inscription he is described as the ex-ruler of *Udabhāṇḍapura*, the chief among the kings (*bhūbhṛtām-mukhyo*) and of terrific valour (*bhīmā-parākramaḥ*) who vanquished his enemies and thus saved his kingdom from their depredations. Though Bhīma's enemy is not specifically named in the record but according to Abdur Rahman the reference here is to Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm, the son of Alaptigin who was evicted from Ghazna by Abu' Ali Lawik with the help of the Shāhi forces.⁴⁴

In the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* Bhīmadeva is mentioned as the Shāhi king of *Udabhāṇḍapura* who was the maternal grandfather of queen Diddā, daughter of king Simharāja of Lohara and wife of king Kṣemagupta of Kashmir (A.D. 950-958). He is also credited with the foundation of Viṣṇu shrine of Bhīmakeśava in Kashmir.

Thus Bhīmadeva true to his name appears to have been a very powerful ruler of the Shāhi dynasty who not only wielded considerable power in his own kingdom but also in the adoptive country of his grand daughter. Both the Dewai inscription and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* testify to his Vaiṣṇavite leanings. Coins with the usual recumbent humped bull and the

lanced horseman and the legend Śrī Bhīmadeva attributed to him.⁴⁵

Jayapāladeva

That Bhīmadeva was succeeded by Jayapāladeva is testified by both al-Bīrūnī's account and the Hund inscription noted above. Jayapāla also figures prominently in the Muslim chronicles as the opponent of the Yamini kings of Ghazni. Besides the Hund inscription Jayapāla is also known to us from another inscription of his reign found on a hill north of Barikot in upper Swat.⁴⁶ The inscription which is now nearly obliterated mentions Jayapāla with the sovereign titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* and records that some person founded something at Vajīrasthāna (modern Vaziristan). The record gives no details about Jayapāla but points to the extension of his dominions upto the Swat valley. The Hund slab inscription of the year 146 mentions Jayapāla as the ruling king when a temple dedicated to god, Śaṅkara was consecrated by certain Caṅgulavarman, son of Paṅgula. The record does not furnish any historical information about Jayapāla, the brief description of Jayapāla that it contains being purely conventional. He is thus described as the 'sole hero whose very pure fame having left heaven has attained the eternal abode of Brahmā.'⁴⁷

Jayapāla's whole life appears to have been spent in a long drawn struggle against the onslaughts of the Yamini rulers of Ghazna. The detailed account of his heroic struggle against the Yamini rulers Subaktigin and Mahmud has been given by Utbi in his *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*, by Firishta in his *Tārīkh-i-Firishtā* and by Nizam-u-din in the *Tabaqātī Akbarī*. According to these sources Jayapāla met reverses more than once in the battlefield and unable to bear the humiliation caused by the successive defeats resigned the crown to his son Ānandapāla and burnt himself alive on a funeral pyre.

The date of Jayapāla

The Hund slab inscription of the time of Jayapāla referred to above is dated in the year 146, on the fifth lunar day of the

bright half of *Mādhava* or *Vaiśākha*.⁴⁸ It is not known to which era the year 146 refers. The end of Jayapāla's reign as per the Muslim sources referred to above is placed in the year 1002 A.D. i.e. a year after he suffered defeat at the hands of Mahmud on 8 Muharram 392 corresponding to 27th Nember, 1001.⁴⁹ Jayapāla according to the Hund slab inscription succeeded Bhīmadeva who was the maternal grand-father of queen Diddā who was *de facto* ruler of Kashmir from A.D. 958 to 1003. He endowed a temple of Bhīma Keśava during the reign of Kṣemagupta which lasted from 950 to 958. Bhīmadeva as seen above also appears to have taken part in Abu' Ali Lawik's campaign against Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm, the son of Alaptigin which took place in A.D. 963⁵⁰ which is the last known date of Bhīmadeva and probably the last important event of his reign. Presuming that Bhīmadeva died soon after we may place his death and the accession of Jayapāla in the year 965. Thus Jayapāla appears to have ruled from 965 to 1002. A.D.

The question arises as to which era the year 146 of our record refers. It has been suggested by Abdur Rahman⁵¹ and Prof. Jagannath Agarwal⁵² that the era in question is the Shāhi era which started with the accession of Kallar or Kalarapāla in 850 A.D. according to Eliot,⁵³ and in 843 A.D. according to Abdur Rahman.⁵⁴ The year 146 would as such correspond to either 996 or 989 both of which fall well within the reign of Jayapāla.

Almost all of our records from Kashmir, Chamba and Kangra are dated in the *Laukika* or the *Saptarṣi* era also called the *Śāstra* era. That this era was also in use in Gandhāra is indicated by the Gaggi (Swat) rock inscription of Masūd dated *Śāstra* year 9 or A.D. 1133⁵⁵ and the Peshawar Museum inscription of Vaṇḍaḍaka dated *Laukika* year 538 or 1461 A.D.⁵⁶ The year 146 if referred to *Laukika* era corresponds to 970-71 A.D. which also falls within the reign of Jayapāla.

Anantadeva and Queen Kāmeśvarī devī

Our other two records from Gandhāra also hail from Hund, ancient *Udabhandapura*. The first engraved on a rectangular

slab of white stone records the construction of a temple (*devakula*) by *Māhārājñī Śrī Kameśvarīdevī* and its consecration between *Samvat* 154 and 157⁵⁷ and the second incised on white marble stone and preserved only in part mentions a king named Anantadeva and alludes to his struggle with the *Turuṣkas*.⁵⁸ The second is contemporaneous with the first since the three individuals mentioned in connection with the construction of the temple are also mentioned in the record of Anantadeva.

Anantadeva mentioned in our record as king *nrpati* is not known from any other source. He is described as one 'dexterous in the task of incessantly striking down the growing and formidable might of the *Turuṣkas*. The *Turuṣkas* would denote the Arab or more particularly the Yamini forces. The description would indicate that Anantadeva was engaged in a long drawn struggle with the Yamini invaders in his attempt to thwart their aggressive and expansionist designs.

The date of Anantadeva is not far removed from the dates mentioned in the *Kāmeśvarīdevī*'s inscription, viz., the years 154 and 157. The years if referred to the so called *Shāhi* era would correspond to A.D. 997 and 1000 or 1004 and 1007 A.D. and if referred to the *Laukika* era the resulting dates would be 978-79 and 981-82 A.D. This was the period when Hund or *Udabhāṇḍapura* as seen above was ruled by Jayapāla. Since the two rulers could not rule over the same place at the same time it may be suggested that Anantadeva was a subordinate chief ruling under his sovereign Jayapāladeva but the epithet *nrpati* of Anantadeva mentioned in the record however, does not indicate his subordinate status.

Thus in the present state of our knowledge we are not in a position to state what relationship did Anantadeva have with Jayapāladeva and what was the position of queen *Kāmeśvarīdevī vis-a-vis* the two rulers.

Jayapāla was followed by Ānandapāla and the latter by Trilochanapāla but no epigraphic record of the last two rulers has come down to us.

The rule of the Hindu *Shāhi* dynasty in Gandhāra come to an end in A.D. 1021 when Trilochanapāla was killed by Mahmud of Ghazni.

Mahmud, besides the Muslim chronicles is also known to us from a type of his coins which contain a translation of the Muhammadan Kalimah in Sanskrit and in Śāradā characters. The coins bear the legend *Ab(v)yaktam eka, Muhammad Avatāra, Nṛpati Mahmud*, the one eternal, Mohammad the messenger, Mahmud the king. The circular legend on the same coins reads *Ayam Tankam Mahmud-Pure ghaṭite Hijriyena Samvat 418*, the tanka was struck at Mahmud-Pura in the Hijri year 418 or A.D. 1027.⁵⁹

Mahmud was followed by his son Masud of whose reign a rock inscription in Śāradā characters has been discovered from Ghaggai, north west of Burdwan in Sawat.⁶⁰ The inscription is dated in the *Śāstra (Saptarṣi)* year 9 which corresponds to A.D. 1033. The name of the ruler given in the record is Hammīra which is the Sanskritised form of Persian Amīr a title borne by the rulers of Ghazni. Since Mahmud died in A.D. 1030 it is evident that the Muslim ruler mentioned in the record with the title Hammīra is Mahmud's son and successor Masud who ascended the throne of Ghazni in A.D. 1031.

B. KASHMIR

While enough is known about the history of Kashmir from various literary sources, the information gleaned from the Śāradā inscriptions of the valley, in this behalf, is much limited in scope and is mostly of a corroborative nature. It is only occasionally that we get some information not known from other sources.

Avantivarmā (A D. 855-883)

The earliest known Śāradā epigraphic record of Kashmir is the one incised on the part of a broken storage vessel discovered from the precincts of the temple of Avantisvāmī at Avantipur and now lying in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.⁶¹ The inscription consisting of only one line contains mention of king Antivarmā who may be identified with king Avantivarmā, the famous Utpala King who ruled over Kashmir from 855 A.D. to 883 A.D. The epigraph except the bare mention of A(va)-ntivarmā does not furnish any information about him. His

reign is however, described by Kalhana in the Vth book of his *magnum opus* and is particularly remarkable for the great measures he adopted and the engineering projects he launched to check the recurring floods, increase the production and reshape the economy of the valley that had been shattered by the internal troubles and internecine fightings for the throne during the preceding reigns.

Avantivarmā founded a town called Avantipur still known by its ancient name and situated on the right bank of the Vitastā on the Srinagar - Jammu National Highway about 30 kms. to the south east of Srinagar 75° 48' long and 33° 55' latitude. He embellished his newly-founded town by two magnificent temples called after him as Avantīśvara and Avantīsvāmī dedicated to god Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively. The two temples still *in situ* are now in ruins but even in ruins are grand and imposing evoking highest admiration for the skill of their builders. Our epigraph would furnish an independent evidence of the identification of the present temple in ruins with the temple of Avantīsvāmī founded by Avantivarmā. The text of the inscription which reads *Maha-Śrī-A(va)ntivarma ghaṭa* 1543 or the storage vessel (*ghaṭa*) (belonging to) the great and illustrious A(va)ntivarma 1543, evidently refers to the *ghaṭa* or storage vessel as having originally belonged to the temple of Avantīsvāmī from whose precincts the same was excavated.

The exact significance of the numerical figures is uncertain. Sir John Marshall (Note. p. 20) takes the figures as representing the date of the inscription. He refers it to the Vikram era corresponding to 1485 A.D. According to him the inscription furnishes proof of the reoccupation of the temple of Avantīsvāmī after its destruction by Sultan Sikandar in the 14th century. He opines that the storage vessel must have been donated by a pious pilgrim to the sacred temple after its re-occupation. However, there is no evidence of the re-occupation of the temple after its destruction. The contemporary chroniclers Jonrāja and Śrīvara do not mention any such event. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the numerical figures represent the date. They are not preceded by the word *Samvat* or *Sam* and occur not at the beginning of the inscription as is almost invariably the case with all the dated inscriptions that

have come to light in the valley so far. Palaeographically also the inscription does not appear to belong to so late a period. Its characters represent the earliest phase of the Śāradā alphabet and bear close resemblance with those used in the coins of Avantivarmā. As such, it is most likely that the inscription is contemporaneous with Avantivarmā himself. The numerical figures may indicate the serial number of the object, in the present case a vessel belonging to the temple.

Queen Diddā (A.D. 980/1003)

Our two other earliest Śāradā epigraphic records discovered in Kashmir so far belong to the reign of queen Diddā. One of them is incised on the base of an image of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi, preserved in the S.P.S. Museum Srinagar⁶² and the other is engraved on a stone slab discovered from a private house in Srinagar and now lying in the Lahore Museum.⁶³ The former is dated in the year 65, obviously of the *Laukika* era, corresponding to A.D. 989 and latter in the year 68 corresponding to A.D. 922. Both these dates fall well within the reign of queen Diddā and thus attest to the correctness of Kalhaṇa's chronology.

The point of some historical importance in the two records is the mention of queen Diddā with the masculine epithets of *deva* and *rājān*.

These epithets for the queen sound rather queer but they would show how she was looked upon by people of her times more as a powerful king than as a mere queen apparently because of her energy, political acumen and essentially masculine traits of character which enabled her to rule over Kashmir with firmness for more than half a century in very troubled times.

Anantadeva (A.D. 1028-1063)

A small Śāradā inscription incised on a big hard grained granite boulder was discovered by R.C. Kak at Decchan near Kishtawar in the Doda district of Jammu. The inscription is dated *sam* 12 in the reign of Śrī Nantadeva. This king appears

to be identical with the king Ananta who ruled Kashmir from A.D. 1028 to 1063. The year 12, presumably of the *Laukika* era, corresponds to A.D. 1036 which well falls within the reign of the king. The inscription does not provide any details about the king except the bare mention of his name. The find spot of the inscription would, however, show that Kishtawar lay well within his empire. This seems all the more likely since Ananta's conquest of Chamba as recounted by Kalhaṇa⁶⁴ could not have been effected without the previous possession of Kishtawar which lay on the direct route to it.

Jayasimha (A.D. 1128-55).

Our next inscription from Kashmir belongs to the reign of king Jayasimha. It is preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar and is dated in the year 25 which referred to the *Laukika* era corresponding to A.D. 1149. Except the bare mention of the name of Jayasimha the inscription does not furnish any information of historical importance about him. He however, seems to be identical with the king Simha mentioned in the Arigom stone slab inscription of the (*Laukika*) year 73 corresponding to A.D. 1197, which contains an interesting information of the latter having burnt a wooden shrine consecrated by certain Rāmadeva to house an image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara near Gaṅgeśvar temple.⁶⁵ The identification seems all the more plausible since the burning of Arigom (ancient Hāḍīgrāma) in Jayasimha's reign is also referred to by Kalhaṇa who attributes the burning of the town to Jayasimha's powerful minister Sujji.⁶⁶ It would seem that the shrine was burnt alongwith the village itself.

Paramāṇḍadeva

A stone slab inscription discovered from Tapar ancient Pratāpapura and now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, mentions Paramāṇḍadeva as the king in whose reign the record was put up.⁶⁷

The inscription is dated in the year 33. Since the characters of this inscription agree with those of the Arigom stone slab

inscription of 1197 A.D. referred to above we may assign the inscription to the 12th century A.D. and refer the year 33 to *Laukika* (42) 33 corresponding to A.D. 1157. According to Jonarāja the king ruling this time in Kashmir was Paramāṇuka, the son and successor of Jayasimha.⁶⁸ It is likely that Paramāṇḍadeva of our inscription is the same as Paramāṇuka of Jonarāja. Kalhaṇa (viii. 1608) mentions Paramāṇḍī as a son of Jayasimha and it would seem that Paramāṇḍī, Paramāṇḍadeva and Paramāṇuka signify the same person.

Rāja Deva (A.D. 1213-36)

A brief record belonging to the reign of king Rāja-deva was discovered by John Marshall from the house of a Brahmana at Bijbehara during his tour of the Valley in 1908-9.⁶⁹ The inscription records the consecration of a mystic circle or *maṇḍalaka* in honour of lord Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara by the teacher (ācārya) Kamalaśriya in the reign of king Rājadeva in the year 58, on the 15th day of the bright half of the month of *Vaiśākha*. Except the bare mention of Rājadeva as the ruling prince, the record tells nothing of his reign. A brief account of the reign of Rājadeva is, however, given by Jonarāja who describes him as the son and successor of Jagadeva (A.D. 1199-1213) and who ruled Kashmir from *Laukika* (42) 89 or A.D. 1213 to *Laukika* (43) 49 or A.D. 1236.⁷⁰

The date of the inscription presents some difficulty. The year 58, if, as usual referred to the *Laukika* era corresponds to A.D. 1284 which however, does not fall within the reign of Rājadeva. The difficulty can be overcome if we as suggested by Marshall⁷¹ refer the date to the Śaka era which was also sometimes used in Kashmir. The date of the inscription would in this case correspond to *Laukika* 12 *Vai Śu, ti. 7* which precedes the date of Rājadeva's death, viz., *Laukika* 12 *Śrā. śu. ti 11* as given by Jonarāja,⁷² by three months and four days.

To the reign of Rājadeva belongs another small inscription incised on a memorial tablet of certain Pṛthivī-giri and now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar. The record is dated *saṁ. 54* which as in the case of the date of the inscription noted above, has to be referred to the Śaka era and corres-

ponds to *Laukika* 8 or A.D. 1232 which well falls within the reign of the king.⁷³

Rāma-deva (A.D. 1252-73)

Marshall⁷⁴ discovered from the town of Bijbehara another inscribed polished square slab from the house of a Pandit. The slab is no longer traceable now. Marshall found the writing of the inscription almost completely defaced, only the words *Rāmadeva-rājye* being visible. This Rāmadeva is apparently the king Ramadeva, the son of Saṁgrāmadeva who ruled Kashmir from A.D. 1252 to A.D. 1273.

Yaskara-deva

The town of Bijbehara has yielded another small Śāradā inscription which is incised on a stone built into an outer wall of a mosque attached to the Ziarat of Nasibu-d-din Auliya in the same locality.⁷⁵ The inscription is dated in the reign of king Yaskaradeva, the exact identification of whom is difficult. The king of this name is not traceable in the list of the kings of Kashmir. He could be identified with king Yaśaskaradeva who was elected king of Kashmir in 938 A.D. and ruled only for nine years, i.e., upto 948 A.D.⁷⁶ But the year 53 mentioned in the epigraph does not fall within the reign of the king if referred either to the *Laukika* or the Śaka era. Paeleography of the inscription also does not suggest such an early date.

Among the sons of king Jayasimha, Kalhaṇa mentions one with the name Yaśaskara.⁷⁷ Yaskaradeva of our inscription could be identified with Yaśaskara of Kalhaṇa but the latter does not appear to have ascended the throne of Kashmir. He is not mentioned by Jonarāja, nor is he known from any other source to have ruled Kashmir. The inscription is dated *saṁ.* 53 and shows characters which agree closely with those of the Tapar stone slab inscription dated 1197 referred to above. It may, as such, be assigned on paleographic grounds to the 12th Century A.D. The year 53 if referred to the *Laukika* era would correspond to A.D. 1178 i.e. about the time

when according to Jonarāja Jassaka ascended the throne of Kashmir. It is tempting to identify Yaskara-deva of our inscription with Jassaka of Jonarāja, since Jassaka seems to be the corruption of Yaskara or more correctly Yaśaskara.

Shihāb-ud-dīn (A.D. 1354/55-1373)

The Kotiher fragmentary stone slab inscription which records the construction of some charitable work, probably a religious hospice (*dharma maṭha*) with a tank (*hṛda*) from the wall of which the epigraph was discovered, by certain lady named Jodhā, is dated in the year 45 in the reign of Śāhabadēna.⁷⁹ This Śāhabadēna is undoubtedly the Sultan ruler Shihāb-ud-Dīn who ruled over Kashmir from A.D. 1354/55 to A.D. 1373. The year 45 probably refers to the *Laukika* era and corresponds to A.D. 1369 which falls well within the reign of the king. The inscription consists of partly preserved 17 lines of which the lines 8-17 are specially important as they contain a brief eulogy of Shihāb-ud-Dīn. The praise though purely conventional is of importance as it contains some interesting facts not known from the literary sources. The eulogy may be summarised as follows: "In the sacred country of Kashmir, a land of prosperity, rules the king of kings, Śāhabadēna (Shihāb-ud-Dīn), a scion of the house of Pāṇḍavas; scorched by the blazing fire of whose powers the enemies retired to the distant lands; the fame of whose victories filled the four quarters with the flood of whitening lusture of a thousand moons as it were; by hearing the high pitched deafening twang of whose powerful bow the enemies ran away disheartened; by whom was conquered the land of the Nadul..." The rest of the text is broken and badly scribbled in incorrect Sanskrit and it is difficult to make any sense out of the preserved portion.

Leaving aside the conventional portion of the praise, we notice two points in the above cited eulogy which are important from historical point of view. First is the mention of Shihāb-ud-Dīn as a scion of Pāṇḍava house. This apparently sounds queer, for a Muhammaddan king could hardly claim descent from the Pāṇḍavas. It, nonetheless, reflects the pious

wish on the part of the eulogiser to connect the contemporary ruler to an illustrious and celebrated Ksatriya family. Second, is shihāb-ud-Dīn's victory over Nadula which is of great importance as the same is not mentioned in the Kashmir chronicles which otherwise give detailed account of the victories of the Sultan.

Unfortunately, the identification of Nadula is not certain. It is not known whether it denotes the name of a king or a tribe. The text reads *Yena-Nadula mahī jitā* which can either be interpreted as "by whom the kingdom of Nadula was conquered" or "by whom the land of Nadulas (a tribe) was conquered." However, no king or tribe with this name is known to have ruled in or in the neighbourhood of Kashmir. The identification of Nadula as such remains uncertain. Kedar Nath Shastri suggests the alternative reading Madra.⁸⁰ The Madras are an ancient Kṣatriya tribe whose history dates back to the Vedic times. In the Vedic literature they figure as a people who appear to have been divided into two sections, viz., the southern Madras who lived in the Panjab and the Uttara or Northern Madras who probably lived as Zimmer conjectures in the land of Kashmir not far distant from the Kambojas (*Vadic Index* I, p. 84-85). In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 14.3) the Madras are mentioned as living beyond the Himalayas (*Pareṇa Himavantam*). In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (IV, 2.131) Madras or the land of Madras, is mentioned as a *Janapada* or a kingdom along with Kamboja, Gandhāra etc. In the *Mahābhārata*, Madras are mentioned as allies of the Kaurvas and their king Śalya figures as the commander-in-chief of the Kaurava army. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta the Madras are mentioned in the form of the Madrakas, as an autonomous frontier tribe "giving all kinds of taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance". A detailed account of the early history of Madras has been given by B.C. Law in his *some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India* pp. 214 ff. and by H.C. Ray in *JASB* (1912), pp. 257 ff. and it would be of little use to repeat the same here.

The country of Madras, as has been discussed in detail in a later chapter, lay in central Panjab, with its capital as Śākala or modern Sialkot.

Shihāb-ud-Dīn is credited with the conquest of a large number of countries and towns in the Kashmir chronicles. Thus Jonarāja (*Dvitiya Rājatarāṅgiṇī* Vss. 425-47) gives the following list of the countries and towns conquered by Shihāb-ud-Dīn :

I. Northern Region; (1) *Udabhāṇḍa pura* (2) *Sindhu*, (3) *Gandhāra*, (4) *Śinga*, (5) *Gajini*, (6) *Aṣṭanāgara* (7) *Puruṣavīra*, (8) *Nagarāgrahāra*, (9) *Hindughoṣa* (10) *Suśarmapura*.

II. Southern Region, *Śatadru*.

III. *Bhauṭṭa* or Ladakh.

It will be seen that this list does not include the Madra country. The Persian chronicles which add a few more names to the list cited above, are also silent on this point. It would seem that Shihāb-ud-Dīn, while annexing Gandhāra, western Panjab and some parts of eastern Panjab including Suśarmapura or Kot-Kangra, also traversed the Central Panjab and conquered the Sialkot region or the Madra-deśa as it was called then.

Zain-ul-Ābidīn (A.D. 1420-70)

To the reign of king Zain-ul-Ābidīn belongs a long and well preserved inscription incised on a large stone lying at the mouth of Bhuvaneśvarī spring at Khonamuh. The inscription is dated in the *Laukika* year 4 and the Kali year 4530 which corresponds to A.D. 1428.⁸¹

The name of the king as given in the inscription is Jayanolabodena (1.2) which is the Sanskritised form of Zain-ul-Ābidīn. The record does not supply any historical details except describing Zain-ul-Ābidīn as the son of Sakandara, i.e. Sultan Sikandara who ruled over Kashmir from A.D. 1389 to A.D. 1413. The latter is also known to us from a recently discovered brief inscription incised on the pedestal of an image of Brahmā worshipped in the Ganesh Mandir at Ganpatyar in Srinagar. The inscription records the consecration of the image by *Samghpati* Kastvaka, the son of Rāhula in the reign of Sakandara Sāha in the year 85. The year 85 if referred to the *Laukika* era corresponds to 1409 A.D. which well falls within the reign of the Sultan.

Hasan Shāh (A.D. 1472-1484)

A fragmentary and badly damaged inscription discovered from a remote corner of the valley is dated in the reign of Hasana mentioned with the sovereign titles of *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājā* and described as *deva-mathana*.⁸² Hasana may be identified with the great Sultan of this name who ruled over Kashmir from A.D. 1472 to A.D. 1484.

The date of the inscription *Sam 52 Vai Śu ti 15* corresponding to 10th of May, 1476 falls well within the reign of the Sultan. No information is traceable in the record about the Sultan save his mention in the inscription with the epithet *deva mathana*. The epithet according to Sten Konow may be due to king Hasana's iconoclastic activities.⁸³ Hasana's history is dealt with in the third Taraṅg of Śrīvara's *Rājatarāṅginī* but nowhere do we get an impression of his having been either a bigot or an iconoclast. By *deva-mathana* we have to understand one who is opposed to the worship of the idols of gods. Hasana Shah as a true Muslim was not well disposed towards idol worship but all the same he guaranteed full freedom of worship to his Hindu subjects and encouraged the study of Sanskrit of which according to Śrīvara he was a great poet. No literary composition of Hasana in Sanskrit has, however, survived.

Muhammad Shāh

Of the reign of Muhammad Shāh who ruled over Kashmir at chequered intervals from A.D. 1484 to 1528 A.D., we have an important inscription engraved on a grave in the cemetery surrounding the Ziarat of Baha-ud-Din in the vicinity of Srinagar.⁸⁴ The inscription which is accompanied by the Persian epigraph in Arabic characters of the same content commemorates the death of certain Seda-Khāna son of Aibrahma who fell in the battle near Jiṣṭhaludra called Takhti-gahi-Sulaiman in the Persian inscription and identical with the modern hill of Shankaracharya situated in the south east of Srinagar.

There can be no doubt that the battle referred to in the inscription is the same battle which was fought in Srinagar between the Sayyids and the Kashmiri nobles in the time of the

minor king Muhammad Shah. The date of the inscription Sam 60 Śrā-va-ti corresponding to Friday July 9, 1984 coincides with the date of the termination of the battle as given by Śrīvara.⁸⁵

Seda Khan mentioned in the inscription seems to be identical with Saida-Khan described by Śrīvara as one of the great soldiers who fought on the side of the Sayyids.⁸⁶ Unfortunately Śrīvara gives no details about Saida Khan and the identification of his father Aibrahm is as such difficult. Marshall suggests that he may be identified with Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, king of Jaunpur from 1401-1440 A.D. who along with his son seems to have fled to Kashmir on the annexation of Jaunpur by Bahlol Lodhi in 1474 A.D.⁸⁷

C. CHAMBA

Chamba is the north-westernmost district of Himachal Pradesh in the bosom of the Himalaya mountains. It comprises a section of the Ravi Valley and a section of the Chinab Valley. The territory is wholly mountainous with altitudes ranging from 2000 to 21000 feet above sea level.

The name Chamba does not occur in early Sanskrit literature. Its earliest mention is found in the Bharamaur copper-plate inscription of Yugaṅkaravarman (10th century A.D.).⁸⁸ Here the form of the name given is *Caṇpakā* which changes to *Campakā* owing to vernacular influence in the copperplate charters of Chamba belonging to the 13th and the subsequent centuries.⁸⁹ The name also occurs in the form *Campā* at several places in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* which refers to a few rulers of this hill state.⁹⁰ It is from the latter form that the modern form Chamba is derived.

The reliable and authentic sources of information regarding the ancient history of Chamba are the inscriptions dating from the 8th century A. D. The next important source is the *Vaṃśāvalī* or the chronological roll of rulers of Chamba.⁹¹ The *Vaṃśāvalī* though composed not earlier than 1642 A. D. appears to have drawn upon some documents of the earlier periods, for it in the most part, corroborates the information furnished by the epigraphic records.

Unfortunately, the inscriptions being mainly religious in character do not furnish much historical information.

Similarly, the *Vaṁśāvalī* too in the main contains only the names of the kings supplying very occasionally detailed information of some historical import. Moreover, the order of succession of kings as given in the *Vaṁśāvalī* does not always tally with that furnished by the inscriptions. Again, the names contained in the inscriptions are missing in the *Vaṁśāvalī* and the *vice versa*. However, even if we may not be able to solve with the help of these two principal sources any great problems concerning the ancient history of Chamba, they enable us, as pointed out by Vogel,⁹² to write a more detailed and more coherent story of Chamba than any of the other Himalayan states including Kashmir and Nepal.

Some additional information about the history of Chamba is furnished by Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅginī* which mentions Chamba under the name *Campa* and contains several important allusions to the activities of the rulers of Kashmir *vis-a-vis* the rulers of this state and thus provides an excellent aid to fix the chronological order of events.

Early History

The history of Chamba from the earliest times to the 8th century A.D. is shrouded in mystery. The *Vaṁśāvalī* does furnish some account of the dark period of Chamba's history but the account is purely mythical and legendary mainly based on the Purāṇas, and thus hardly reliable from historical point of view.

In the absence of any literary or epigraphic evidence we may assume that Chamba formed part of the great empires of the Mauryas, the Kuṣāṇas, and the Guptas which successively rose and fell in Northern India. It is doubtful, though accepted by Vogel⁹³ if Chamba was included in the dominions of the Hūṇas whose sway extended over Kashmir and Gandhāra. From 8th century A.D. however, we begin to tread on much surer grounds. For now onwards we get almost unbroken succession of epigraphic records which supplemented by the *Vaṁśāvalī* and the *Rājatarāṅginī* enable us to trace the history of this hill state from 8th century downwards in an almost continuous strain.

Meru-varman

The first king of whom we possess definite historical evidence is Meru-Varman who belonged to the solar race and flourished probably in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. His capital was Bharamaor where still extant temples and inscribed images consecrated by him bear eloquent testimony to his piety, power and resources. Three of his own inscriptions incised on the brass images and one rock inscription of his feudatory chief Āṣāḍha-Deva, have been discovered so far, which furnish some information about him.⁹⁴ He was the son of Deva-varman, grandson of Bala-varman and great grandson of Āditya-varman. He was a scion of the house of Moṣūṇa, who is also mentioned in the successive records of the Chamba rulers as their distinguished progenitor. Meru-varman assumed the sovereign title of the *Mahārājādhirāja* and was actually a liege lord of the feudatory chief (Sāmanta) Āṣāḍha-Deva whose inscription dated in the reign of Meru-varman has been referred to above. According to the Chattrahi image inscription, Meru-varman conquered the enemies in their invincible castles and dedicated an image of Śaktidevi to celebrate his victory.⁹⁵

According to the Chamba *Vaṁśāvalī*, Meru-Varman was followed by several kings who included Lakṣamaṇa-Varman during whose reign there broke out an epidemic in Bharamaur taking advantage of which the Kīras invaded Bharamaur killed the king and took possession of the country⁹⁶ and his son Mūṣāṇa-Varman who drove out the Kīras and recovered the throne.⁹⁷ No epigraphic record of these kings has yet been discovered.

Mṛtyuñjāyā-vārmān

Sometime in the 8th century, Chamba appears to have been ruled by a king named Mṛtyuñjaya-varman, a rock inscription of whose reign has been discovered at Proli-Rāgala.⁹⁸ Although this king is not mentioned in the *Vaṁśāvalī*, yet the cognomen *Varman* and the sovereign titles of *mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara* which he assumes in his inscription indicate that he belonged to the Varman line of Chamba rulers.

Sāhilla-varman

In the early 10th century, we meet with another great historical personality of ancient Chamba, named Sāhilla-varman who after Meru-varman holds conspicuous position in the annals of this hill state. Though no record contemporaneous with him has yet come to light, he is known to us from the Chamba *Vaṃśāvalī* and the copper plate grants of his successors.⁹⁹

The *Vaṃśāvalī* credits him with the founding of the new capital of Chamba which seems to be based on fact since the charters of his son Yugākara-varman and grandson Vidagdha were issued from *Caṇpakā* (Chamba) as the seat of Government.

The copper plate grants of Yugākara-varman and Vidagdha do not furnish any details about Sāhilla but those of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa-varman who ruled in the 11th century contain some interesting references to a few historical events of his reign.¹⁰⁰ He is stated to have subdued the lord of Trigarta (Kangra) who sought his alliance. He made his influence felt in the country of Kulūta (Kullu) whose rulers waited upon him and solicited his favour. He is further stated to have vanquished the Kīra forces excited by the lord of Durgara and assisted by the Saumaṭikas. The Saumaṭikas, not known from any other source, have been identified by Vogel¹⁰¹ with the people of Sumarta, a tract in the former hill state of Basohli or Balor mentioned by Kalhaṇa under the name of Vallāpura.¹⁰² Durgara evidently denotes modern Dugar or Jammu. The Kīras who are mentioned in several epigraphic and literary records¹⁰³ are generally believed to be a people of ancient Kangra which had its main settlement at Kīragrāma or modern Baijnath.

However, it would seem that the Kīras in the present context were distinct from the Kīras of Trigarta, since Trigarta was an ally rather than an enemy of Chamba as noted above. Vogel¹⁰⁴ and Kielhorn,¹⁰⁵ on the evidence of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*¹⁰⁶ and *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*¹⁰⁷ which mention Kīras identified the same with a tribe or people who were settled in the neighbourhood of Kashmir. According to Vogel,¹⁰⁸ Kīras, in the present case, seemed to have acted as mercenaries in the service of the Chief

of Durgara and were sent by him to the assistance of Saumaṭīkas in their fight against Sāhilla who appears to have come into collision with them while extending his dominions down the Ravi valley.

The Kīras seem to have been a fight loving people who probably occupied a mountainous tract in the vicinity of Sumarta or Basohli. They seem to have carried frequent inroads into the territory of Chamba. An earlier invasion by them sometime in the 8th century during the reign of Lakṣamaṇa-varman has been referred to above. It would seem that they made another attack on Chamba during the reign of Sāhilla-varman, this time with the combined assistance of Saumaṭīkas and the lord of Durgara, but failed to achieve any success since the attack, as the epigraphic evidence referred to above shows, was successfully repulsed by Sāhilla who seems to have been assisted in the conflict by the lords of Trigarta and Kulūta.

Another achievement of Sāhilla-varman is described in the Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa-varman¹⁰⁹ where he is stated to have routed the forces of *Turuṣkas* in a battle.

The term *Turuṣka* was earlier applied to all foreigners who invaded India from the north-west. It was used to denote Scythians in the Purāṇas in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. and a few centuries later the term is used by Kalhaṇa to describe the enemies of the Shāhi king Lalliya.¹¹⁰ The *Turuṣkas* of Kalhaṇa here denote the Muhammadans who under Saffarid Yaqub-ibn-Layth took possession of Kabul in 870 A.D.¹¹¹

At the time when Sāhilla ruled Chamba i.e. sometime in the first half of the 10th century, the kingdom of Gandhāra was ruled by the Hindu Shāhi dynasty established about 840 A.D. by the Brahman Wazir Kallar who is sometimes identified with Lalliya referred to above. From the *Rājatarangīṇī* we learn that the Shāhi rulers were in alliance with the rulers of Kashmir. Since Kangra or Nagarkot, as it was then called, was the second capital of Shāhis, it is not unlikely that they had some sort of military alliance with the rulers of Chamba as well.

In the second quarter of the 10th century, the Turks under Alptigin invaded the Kabul Valley.¹¹² In their venture to

resist the advance of the Turks, Shāhis would appear to have been assisted by their allies, the rulers of Kashmir, Panjab and Chamba. It appears that it was during this fight against the Turuṣkas or Turks that Sāhilla appeared on the side of the Shāhis and fought bravely against the Turks.

Yugākara-varman

Sāhilla-varman was followed by his son and successor Yugākara-varman who issued a copper plate charter from his capital *Caṇpakā* in the tenth year of his reign. By means of this, he granted certain lands in the *Brahmapura maṇḍala* to the temple of God Narasiṃha built by queen Trivhuvana-rekhā-devī who probably was his wife. He is stated to have increased his glory by uprooting a multitude of foes. It is not known who his enemies actually were. It seems that he assisted his father Sāhilla-varman in the consolidation of the empire and in the subjugation of the Ranas who ruled independently in some parts of Chamba. Evidence to this effect is furnished by the *Vaṃśāvalī*¹¹⁴ where Yugākara-varman is stated to have helped his father in reduciug the Kṣatriyas and in founding the town of Chamba. The Kṣatriyas evidently denote Rajput chiefs or Ranas who ruled over some parts of Chamba prior to the consolidation of the State by Sāhilla-varman.

Vidagdha-varman

Yugākara-varman was succeeded by his son Vidagdha-varman who is known to us from two epigraphic records of his reign. One is the copper plate grant issued by him in the 4th year of his reign to record his grant of land in the village Sumangalā (modern Sungal) to a certain Brāhmaṇa Nanduka¹¹⁵ and the other is a small image inscription discovered at Tur in the Basu pargana and belonging to his feudatory chief Thakkika.¹¹⁶

The copper plate inscription describes Vidagdha as the son of Yugākara-varman and queen Bhogamatī-devī. He was the scion of the house of Moṣaṇa, who is evidently the Mūṣaṇa of the inscriptions of Meru-varman referred to above. Except describing Vidagdha with the usual laudatory epithets, the grant does not furnish any detailed historical information about him.

The Tur image inscription of Thakkika referred to above which is dated in the first year of Vidagdha and which describes Thakkika as having found favour with Vidagdha would show that Vidagdha's sovereignty was acknowledged by Thakkika (styled as *Mahārājādhirāja*) who held some part of the lower Ravi Valley in the Basu pargana.

Doḍaka

Vidagdha-varman was followed by Doḍaka-varman, an inscription of whose reign incised on the image of Karttikeya has been discovered at Tur near Basu. This brief record of three lines does not contain any significant historical information about Doḍaka except that he was the successor of Vidagdha.

Doḍaka is not mentioned in the *Vaṃśāvalī* which, however, mentions a king named Dogdha as the father and predecessor of Vidagdha. Vogel identifies Doḍaka with Dogdha of the *Vaṃśāvalī*. If the identification be correct, it would follow that Dogdha's name in the *Vaṃśāvalī* is out of place for he was not the predecessor but successor of Vidagdha as is shown by the inscription referred to above.

Dhairya-varman and Vicitra-varman

The *Vaṃśāvalī* mentions two more kings after Vidagdha, viz., Dhairya-varman and Vicitra-varman, but they are not known from any epigraphic records discovered so far.

Sālavāhana

Sometime in the middle of the 11th century, Chamba was ruled by Sālavāhana who is mentioned in the three copper plate inscriptions of the 11th century.¹²¹ One of these was issued by his son and successor Soma-varman, the second jointly by Soma-varman, and by his younger brother Āsaṭa and the third by Āsaṭa alone.

The name of Sālavāhana does not occur in the *Vaṃśāvalī*. However, the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*¹²² mentions a king named Sāla as ruler of Chamba who was deposed by King Ananta of Kashmir

(A.D. 1028-63) and replaced by a new ruler. Kielhorn was the first to identify the king Sāla of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* with Sālavāhana of our inscriptions.¹²³ The identification has been upheld by Stein¹²⁴ and Vogel¹²⁵ and appears to be correct from the point of view of time also.

Ananta's campaign against Chamba appears to have taken place in the last years of his reign as at the time of his coronation he was only a minor and the major part of his subsequent reign was spent in stabilising his position at home. It may be presumed that his campaign against Chamba took place in the fifties of the 11th century. Now the year of accession of Jāsata who was fourth in succession from Sālavāhana, has on the evidence of the Luj fountain inscription,¹²⁶ been fixed as 1105-6 A.D.

Allowing a period of fifty years for the intervening reigns, Sālavāhana would appear to have ruled in the fifties of the 11th century which well agrees with the probable date of Ananta's expedition against Chamba and the deposition by him of the Chamba ruler named Sāla.

No more information is available about Sālavāhana but his sign-manuals still traceable in the Kulait copper plate grant of his son and successor Soma-varman referred to above, would indicate that he intended to make the grant himself but could not do so owing to his sudden end.

Soma-varman

Sālavāhana was succeeded by his son Soma-varman. He is not mentioned in the *Vamśāvalī* but is known to us from two records of his reign, (1) the Kulait copper plate grant which was issued in the seventh year of his reign¹²⁷ and (2) the Bahnota (Curah) fountain inscription, which records the construction of a fountain by a private individual.¹²⁸ The Kulait copper grant describes him as the son of Sālavāhana and the queen Rārḍhā-devī. The Bahnota inscription furnishes evidence of Curah forming part of his empire. This is specially of interest as in the second quarter of the 11th century, Curah was ruled by a Balor king Trailokyadeva of whose reign three fountain inscriptions have been discovered at Dadvar, Bhakund

and Naghai which are all situated in Curah.¹²⁹ It would seem that sometime in the second half of the 11th century, Curah, was wrested from Tailokya-deva by Soma-varman or may be by his father Sālavāhana and annexed to Chamba.

Soma-varman was charitably disposed as would appear from the grant of lands to the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭarahasa. His great interest in the advancement of religious institutions is evidenced by his donations of land to the temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu. In a passage devoted to his praise in the *Kulait grant*, he is described as a king of faultless knowledge, spotless virtues and of courage full of manliness. He is praised for subduing the power of his enemies and for "fulfilling the wishes of his favoured ones by profusely granting to them their desired objects".

Āsaṭa-varman

The year of Somavarman's death is not known. He was succeeded by his younger brother Āsaṭa sometime between A.D. 1070 and A.D. 1080. Three records of his reign have come to light so far, viz., the Chamba copper plate grant¹³⁰ and the Siya fountain inscription¹³¹ dated in his first regnal year and the Thundu copper plate inscription issued in the fifth year from his accession.¹³²

The three inscriptions noted above furnish no details of Āsaṭa's reign. The *Thundu grant* describes him as the son of Sālavāhana and queen Rārḍhā-devī and records his grant of lands in the Bhaṭṭāraka-maṇḍala (Hol-Gudyal pargana) to a Brāhmaṇa Māca, son of Pūrṇarāja.

Āsaṭa appears to be identical with the ruler of that name mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*¹³³ who attended the court of king Kalaśa (1063-1089 A.D.) of Kashmir evidently to pay him homage. It would thus appear that Āsaṭa acknowledged the suzerainty of Kalaśa. As stated before, the supremacy of Kashmir over Chamba had been established earlier by Ananta's successful expedition against the State.

The two royal houses of Kashmir and Chamba were also connected by matrimonial ties. According to Kalhaṇa, Āsaṭa's sister Bāppikā was married to king Kalaśa of Kashmir.

During the troubles in which Kalaśa's son Harṣa was involved, the ruler of Chamba played a conspicuous role.

Jāsaṭa-varman

Āsaṭa was succeeded by his son Jāsaṭa-varman in A.D. 1104/5. Two fountain inscriptions of his reign have been discovered at Luj in Pangī¹³⁵ and Loh-Tirki in Curah.¹³⁶

No historical information about Jāsaṭa is forthcoming from the two records. The inscription from Luj, is, however, important in as much as it contains the earliest definite instance of the use of *Śāstra Samvat* in Chamba and has, as such provided a clue to the year of the accession of Jāsaṭa. The inscription is dated in the first regnal year of Jāsaṭa and in the Śāstra year 81. It gives A.D. 1104/5 as the year of Jāsaṭa's accession. The date of the Loh-Tirki inscription which is dated in Jāsaṭa's ninth year would as such correspond to A.D. 1114.

The two records would show that Chamba's supremacy over Curah established earlier in the reign of Soma-varman continued during the reign of Jāsaṭa, and that Jāsaṭa's dominions also included Pangī, the northern most part of Chamba.

For further information about Jāsaṭa we are indebted to Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarangīnī*. Kalhaṇa describes Jāsaṭa as the son of Harṣa's maternal uncle.¹³⁷ It appears from Kalhaṇa's narrative that Jāsaṭa even before his accession took part in the civil war that broke out in Kashmir during the reign of Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) and helped his kinsman in his struggle against the rival pretenders, the Lohara brothers Uccala and Sussala.

Kalhaṇa next mentions Jāsaṭa among the five hill chiefs who met Bhikṣācāra, the grandson of Harṣa at Kurukṣetra while the latter was on his way to Kashmir to claim the ancestral throne.¹³⁸ When Bhikṣācāra proceeded to Vallāpura, Jāsaṭa played a significant role in arranging his marriage with the daughter of the king of that State.¹³⁹

Bhikṣācāra stayed at Vallāpura for a few years but when his own resources became exhausted, his father-in-law began to treat him with scant courtesy.¹⁴⁰ Jāsaṭa then called him to his own capital and entertained him for four or five years.¹⁴¹ Bhikṣācāra left Chamba soon after and it is not known if Jāsaṭa

rendered him any assistance in his attempt to regain his hereditary throne.

The year of Jāsaṭa's death is not known. The names of the following successors of Jāsaṭa are known to us from the *Varṇśāvalī*,¹⁴² Dhala-varman, Ajita, Daityāri and Pṛthivī-varman. No information about any of them is available.

Udaya-varman

Pṛthivī-varman was succeeded by Udaya-varman.¹⁴³ He may be identified with king Udaya mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* as the king of Campā and as one of the chief supporters of Sussala, who helped the latter in defending the capital city Srīnagarī against Bhikṣācāra and in defeating the pretender at Gopādrī hill in A.D. 1122.

It is interesting to find the Chamba prince deserting his kinsman Bhikṣācāra and rendering support to Sussala who only a few years back was opposed by Jāsaṭa. It seems that ever since Bhikṣācāra's stay at the court of Jāsaṭa with his entire resources exhausted, Chamba lost interest in Bhikṣācāra and the successors of Jāsaṭa chose to side with the more powerful and resourceful Sussala. They also seem to have entered into matrimonial relations with Sussala since Sussala is stated in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*¹⁴⁵ to have married two princesses from Campā (Chamba) namely, Devalekhā and Tarālekhā.

Lalita-varman

Udaya-varman was followed by his son Lalita-varman, of whose reign we possess two epigraphic records. One is the fountain inscription of Rājānaka Nāgapāla discovered from Devi-ri-Kothi in Curah¹⁴⁶ and the other is a fountain inscription of Rājānaka Nāgapāla discovered from the village Salhi in Pangī.¹⁴⁷

From the Devi-ri-Kothi inscription, we learn that Lalita-varman conferred on Nāgapāla the title of Rājānaka. It also gives a brief conventional account of Lalita-varman's virtues. The Salhi record only supplies the king's name in connection with the mention of the date, without giving any details about him. It, however, provides a clue to the year of the accession

of Lalita-varman. It is dated in the 27th year of Lalita-varman and in the *Śāstra* year 46 which corresponds to A.D. 1170. The year of Lalita-varman's accession would as such be A.D. 1143-44.

No further details of Lalita-varman's reign are known. He is not mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. The two records, noted above, would, however, show that during the reign of Lalita-varman, the distant regions of Curah and Pangī were ruled by the Local chiefs who owed allegiance to the Chamba ruler.

Vijaya-varman

Lalita-varman was followed by his son and successor Vijaya-varman. A fragmentary fountain inscription belonging to the Rājānaka Gayāpāla and discovered at Mul-Kihar¹⁴⁸ has been attributed by Vogel to his reign. Since Lalita-varman was still ruling in A.D. 1170, the reign of Vijaya-varman must fall in the last quarter of the 12th century.

The *Vaṃśāvalī* credits Vijaya-varman with victories over the *Kāśmūras*, the *Kīras* and the *Mudgalas*. His victory over the *Kāśmīras*, however, is open to doubt as it is not corroborated by any independent evidence. The name of Vijaya-varman figures nowhere in the Kashmir chronicles. The mention of *Kīras* is of interest as we have already met them during the reigns of Lakṣmaṇa-varman and Sāhilla-varman.

It would seem that they made another attack on Chamba during the reign of Vijaya-varman, which according to *Vaṃśāvalī*, was, however, successfully repulsed by the Chamba ruler. *Mudgalas* are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* along with the hill people of *Kāśmīras*, *Auraskas*, *Piśācas*, etc., who were vanquished by Kṛṣṇa. It would seem that *Mudgalas* like the *Kīras* were a hill tribe occupying some mountainous tract in the vicinity of Chamba. They seem to have carried an inroad into the territory of Chamba during the reign of Vijaya-varman which was, however, successfully foiled by the Chamba ruler.

Vijaya-varman is further stated to have granted villages and lands to Brāhmaṇas but till now no copper plate character issued by him has been recovered.

With Vijaya-varman our present account of the political history of Chamba comes to an end. The successors of Vijaya-varman are known, besides the *Vaṁśāvalī*, from their copper plate charters, which, however, are written in the *Devāṣeṣa* and not in the *Śāradā* proper and hence fall outside the purview of our present study. But before we close the present account, it would be worthwhile to give an account of the following rulers who are mentioned in some of our records from Chamba but who are not known for certain to belong to the famous Varman line of the Chamba rulers.

1. *Sātyaki*

Sātyaki is known to us from the *Sarahan Praśasti*, the earliest known *Śāradā* record from Chamba.¹⁵⁰ The *Praśasti* is in the praise of *Sātyaki*'s wife *Somaprabhā* and records the construction of a *Śiva* temple by *Sātyaki* in honour of his beloved wife. No details about *Sātyaki* are furnished by this long and well preserved record except that he was the son of virtuous *Bhogaṭa*. He is, however, described with such epithets as '*narendra*' (vs. 21) and '*vijitāricakra*' (vs. 3) which would show that he belonged to the ruling class. But, as pointed out by Vogel,¹⁵¹ the names of *Sātyaki* and his father *Bhogaṭa* do not figure in the Chamba *Vaṁśāvalī*, nor is there any evidence in the inscription itself that they belonged to illustrious Varman line of the Chamba rulers. The identification of *Sātyaki* is, as such, rendered difficult. It is, however, not unlikely that he was one of those Chieftains, who as pointed out above, appear to have ruled over small principalities in Chamba prior to the consolidation of the State by *Sāhilla-varman* in the 10th century. *Sātyaki* appears to have been a powerful chief who held independent sway in his principality. This is indicated, both by his being designated as *narendra* and not as *Rajānaka*, the popular designation of the feudatory chiefs in Chamba, and by the absence of any reference to a liege-lord in the inscription.

2. *Trailokya-deva*

Trailokya-deva is mentioned in the three fountain inscriptions discovered at the villages *Dadvar*, *Bhakund* and *Naghai*

in Curah.¹⁵² In the Naghai inscription belonging to Rājānaka Deva-prasāda, he is mentioned with the sovereign titles of *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *māhārājādhirāja* which would show that he was a liege lord of the chieftains of Curah.

The name of Trailoka-deva does not figure in the Chamba *Vamśāvalī* but is mentioned twice in the *Vamśāvalī* of the rulers of the neighbouring hill state of Balor, ancient Vallā-pura.¹⁵³ At one place, he figures as the immediate predecessor of Kalaśa, the contemporary of Ananta (A.D. 1028-63) and Kalaśa (1063-1089 A.D.) of Kashmir and at another place he is separated from the latter by two reigns. Vogel feels inclined to identify Trailokya-deva of our inscriptions with Trailokya-deva of Balor *Vamśāvalī* who ruled sometime before Kalaśa-pāla in the first half of the 11th century A.D.¹⁵⁴ The Dadvar fountain inscription is dated in the *Śāstra* year 17 corresponding to A.D. 1041 which shows that Trailokya-deva ruled in the second quarter of the 11th century A.D. If Vogel's identification be correct, it would follow that Curah was held by the ruler of Balor in the second quarter of the 11th century A.D. However, as pointed out above, it did not remain long in the possession of the Balor king and was soon after wrested by Soma-varman of Chamba and annexed to his own empire.

3. Raṇa-pāla

In the stone inscription discovered at the village Devī-ri-kothi in Curah, Raṇa -pāla figures as the king in whose reign the image was consecrated.¹⁵⁵ Raṇa-pāla is not mentioned in the *Vamśāvalī* of the Chamba rulers but the name ending 'pāla' suggests that he belonged to the line of the Balor kings, whose names generally end in 'pāla'. The *Vamśāvalī* of the Balor rulers mentions three names Raṇa-malla, Rājā Rāṇul and Aruṇa-malla which Vogel¹⁵⁶ thinks to be all corruptions of Raṇa-pāla. However, there is some difficulty in accepting the proposed identification. The inscription referred to above is contained in a fountain enclosure which was set up by Nāga-pāla, a feudatory of king Lalita-varman of Chamba, referred to above. It is difficult to explain how the name of a Balor king can occur in a fountain slab which was set up by a feudatory

of the ruler of Chamba. Again, the date of the inscription *Saṃvat* I *Āśva. va. ti.* 8, according to Vogel,¹⁵⁷ probably corresponds to 16th August, 1161, i.e. about the time when Curah was ruled by the Chamba ruler Lalita-varman, as is evidenced by the *Devi-ri-kothi* inscription of Rājānaka Nāga-pāla referred to above. Both these facts render Vogel's proposed identification of Raṇa-pāla of our inscription with Rana-malla, Raja Ranul or Aruṇ-malla of Balor *Vaṃśāvalī* somewhat improbable. The identification of Raṇa-pāla must in the light of our present knowledge remain, as such, open to question.

4. *Ajaya-pāla*

The village Sai in Curah has yielded a fountain inscription which is dated in the reign of Ajaya-pāla.¹⁵⁸ From the inscription it is not clear whether Ajaya-pāla was the king of Chamba or of the neighbouring state of Balor. While the name Ajaya-pāla does not occur in the Chamba *Vaṃśāvalī*, a king of that name is mentioned in the *Vaṃśāvalī* of Balor kings, as the son and successor of Aruṇa-malla. Vogel proposes to identify Ajaya-pāla of our inscription with the Balor king Ajaya-pāla and takes the name of his father Aruṇa-malla to be the corruption of Raṇa-pāla mentioned in the *Devi-ri-kothi* stone inscription referred to above.¹⁵⁹ The inscription is dated in the *Kali* year 4270 and the *Śāstra* year I one of which is evidently wrongly recorded. Vogel¹⁶⁰ takes the latter date to be the more probable one and on account of the script of the inscription refers it to *Śāstra* year 4301 corresponding to A.D. 1225. If Vogel's suggestions are accepted it follows that in the first half of the 13th century, Curah lay in the temporary sway of the Balor Chiefs. But as pointed out above Vogel's proposed identifications are not beyond doubt.

D. KANGRA

What is now known as Kangra, originally formed part of the kingdom of Trigarta also called Jālandhara. The kingdom at the time of its greatest expansion comprised all the territory between the Satlej and the Ravi in the outer hills and the Jālandhara Doab in the plains. The two names Trigarta and

Jālandhara appear to have been used as synonyms for the whole kingdom.¹⁶¹ At a later period, however, the name Trigarta came to be applied to Kangra only and as Trigadh was in use for the Kangra State till early 19th century.

Early History

According to the evidence furnished by the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, Trigarta was a Republican State like several others of this type in Northern India in the 6th century B.C. Pāṇini refers to Trigarta as *Sangha* or a *Republic*.¹⁶² Soon after, the republican form of Government appears to have been abolished in favour of the monarchical regime and we find a king named Suśarman ruling over Trigarta at the time of the great war. Suśarman is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*¹⁶³ as a Trigarta Chief who took part in the great war and fought on the side of the Kauravas. He is mentioned in the *Vaṃśāvalī* of the Katoch family of Kangra as Suśarma-candra and figures as 234th king from its mythical founder named Bhūma-candra.¹⁶⁴ The name *Suśarmapura* for Kangra appears to be due to this king.

The history of Trigarta in the immediately following period is not known. In the 2nd century B.C. the republican constitution was again revived in this Hill State, as is attested by the numismatic evidence. Coins bearing the legend *Trakata-Janapadasya* have been discovered which on palaeographic grounds can be assigned to the 2nd century B.C.¹⁶⁵ The legend 'Trakata-Janapadasya' has been translated as 'of the Trigarta republic.' It would thus follow that Trigarta was a republic in the 2nd century B.C. and the coinage was issued in the name of the republic.

The history of Trigarta in the following periods is again veiled in obscurity. In the absence of any literary or epigraphical evidence, it may be presumed that Trigarta acknowledged the supremacy of the imperial Kuṣāṇas whose sway extended over Jālandhara where, as is believed by some, the fourth Buddhist council was convened by the great Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaṇiṣka.

The Kuṣāṇa empire declined in the 3rd century A.D. and several republics which had ruled in the Panjab independently

in the centuries preceding the Christian era and had to submit to the Kuṣāṇa influence during the intervening period, again asserted their independence and some of them, as for example the Yaudheyas and the Kunindas, again struck coins.

A large number of coins of these Republics belonging to the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. has been discovered.¹⁶⁶ It is not known if like these Republics, Trigartas also asserted independence after the collapse of the Kuṣāṇa empire. No coins of the Trigartas in the post-Kuṣāṇa period have come to light so far. On the other hand, the District of Kangra has yielded a few coins of Yaudheya currency having legends in the characters of 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.¹⁶⁷ This has led Altekar¹⁶⁸ to conclude that the District of Kangra along with those of Ludhiana, Rohtak, Karnal, Delhi, Saharanpur, etc. which have yielded large hoards of Yaudheya coinage, was ruled by the Yaudheyas from the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. However, the discovery of a few Yaudheya coins from Kangra does not constitute the proof of the political domination of the Yaudheyas over the Trigartas as suggested by Altekar.

Yaudheyas submitted to the political might of Samudragupta in the 4th century A.D. It is, however, doubtful if Trigarta lay within the Gupta empire which extended up to the eastern part of the Punjab. There is no evidence to this effect either in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta or in the records of his successors. The history of Trigarta during the Gupta period is thus a blank.

Nor is anything known of this Hill State in the immediately following period till we come to the first half of the 7th century when Jālandhara was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang.¹⁶⁹ He describes the kingdom of Jālandhara about 100 li or 167 miles in length from east to west and 80 li or 133 miles in breadth from north to south. If these dimensions are correct, the kingdom of Jālandhara as pointed out by Cunningham¹⁷⁰ must, then, have included the State of Chamba on the north with Mandi and Suket on the east and Śatadru on the south-east. It would seem that Jālandhara State after the disintegration of the Gupta empire had grown into a big State which also included Trigarta in the outer hills. This State was ruled by a king named Udito¹⁷¹ who has been

identified by Cunningham¹⁷² with the King Adima or Adita of the *Vaṃśāvalī* of the Katoch family.

The paucity of material prevents us from tracing the history of Trigarta in the subsequent periods in a continuous strain. However, it is likely that the Hill State continued to be ruled by the successors of Adita, the scions of the Katoch family. The Katoch Chiefs seem to have acknowledged the supremacy of the powerful Kārkoṭa rulers of Kashmir in the 8th century A.D. Jālandhara of which Trigarta formed a part, is included in the *Rājatarāṅginī*¹⁷³ among the territories conquered by the famous Kārkoṭa ruler Lalitāditya.

About the end of the 9th century A.D., Trigarta was ruled by a king named Pṛthivī-candra¹⁷⁴ who probably was a Katoch. He was the protege of the Utpala ruler Śaṅkara-varman of Kashmir (883-902 A.D.) and is referred to in the *Rājatarāṅginī*¹⁷⁵ to have sent his son as a hostage to the Kashmir ruler. The name of Pṛthivī-candra does not appear in the *Vaṃśāvalī* of the Katoch family of Kangra but the cognomen *Candra* which is borne by all the rulers of the Katoch family right from its founder Bhūma-candra makes it highly probable that Pṛthivī-candra also belonged to the famous Katoch line.

In the beginning of the 10th century A.D., Trigarta was subdued by the founder of the neighbouring Hill State of Chamba, named Sāhillavarman. In the copper plate inscriptions of the Chamba rulers, Soma-varman and Āsaṭa (11th century), noted above, Sāhilla-varman is stated to have forcibly reduced the lord of Trigarta into submission. The Trigarta Chief, however, later became a friend and an ally of Sāhilla-varman and is stated to have assisted the latter in his fight against the confederate forces of the Kīras, Saumatīkas and the Durgaras as noted above.

In the beginning of the 11th century Trigarta is said to have been ruled by the Katoch king Jagdiśa-candra who was 436th in descent from Bhūma-candra, the mythical founder of the State.¹⁷⁶ During his rule in 1009 A.D. the fort of Kangra, famous all over India on account of its fabulous wealth, was besieged by Muhamud of Ghazni who after capturing the fort seized the entire wealth stored therein. Cunningham attributes

the vast accumulation of wealth in the fort to Shāhi rulers of Kabul. "It is almost impossible," remarks he, "that such a vast amount of treasure could have been accumulated by the petty Rajas of the Kangra valley, but it is quite conceivable that it may have been the hoard of the Hindu princes of Kabul."¹⁷⁷ There is evidence of the close connection of the Shāhis with Nagarkot or Kangra. According to al-Bīrūnī, the fort of Kangra preserved the genealogical roll of the Turkish Shāhi princes of Kabul—the immediate predecessors of Hindu Shāhi princes—for sixty generations.¹⁷⁸ The Khajuraho Inscription of Yaśovarman Candela¹⁷⁹ mentions a King of Kīra or Kangra with the title Shāhī. Besides, large hoards of Dirhams or silver coins of the Shāhis have been discovered at several places in the Kangra Valley. This points to the connection of Shāhis with this Hill State.

The conquest of Punjab by Mahmud was only partial and we find Trigarta or Jālandhara still ruled by a Katoch king named Indu-candra in the 2nd quarter of the 11th century.¹⁸⁰ The king was the contemporary of Ananta-deva of Kashmir (A.D. 1028-63) and is referred to in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*¹⁸¹ to have given his two daughters in marriage to the Kashmir ruler. The name Indu-candra is not traceable in the local *Vaṃśāvalī* but the name ending *Candra* indicates that he was a Katoch.

The details of the history of this Hill State in the immediately following period are not known. However, it is likely that the Katoch rule continued uninterrupted in the State, as in the beginning of the 13th century we find it ruled by a king named Jayacandra who most probably was a Katoch. Jayacandra is mentioned in the two *Baijnath-Praśastis* dated Śaka 1126 or A.D. 1204 as the ruling chief of Trigarta or Jālandhara.¹⁸² He was first identified by Cunningham¹⁸³ with Jaya-Mala-candra of the *Vaṃśāvalī*. This identification based on the erroneous reading of the dates of the *Praśastis* was later repudiated by Vogel and Hutchison¹⁸⁴ who identified the king with the Katoch chief Jayasīṃha-candra of the *Vaṃśāvalī*.

Nothing worthy of note is recorded in the *Praśastis* about Jayacandra except that he was the sovereign of a baronial

house that was ruling this time at Kīragrāma identified with modern town of Baijnath in Kangra.

The *Prasastis* introduce us to a baronial house which ruled for eight generations at Kīragrāma under the supremacy of the kings of Trigarta. Since last of them ruled in A.D. 1204, we may place the ten chiefs between A.D. 1030 and 1210 allowing an average reign of 20 years to each generation. It would thus follow that this line of Rāṇas established its power at Kīragrāma shortly after the invasion of Sultan Mahmud and the overthrow of the Shāhi dynasty. No historical details of these chiefs of Kīragrāma are known. The *Prasastis* contain a brief description of each of them, but the descriptions are purely conventional and it is only occasionally that we meet with information that may be of some real historical importance.

Kanda (C. 1030-1050 A.D.)

The founder of this baronial house was Kanda. He is described as the root of the matchless family, vanquisher of foes, conqueror of towns and servant of the lotus-feet of the king of Trigarta,¹⁸⁵ which would indicate that he was a powerful ruler who established a barony at Kīragrāma and who owed allegiance to the Rājā of Trigarta.

Buddha (C. 1050-1070 A.D.) and *Vigraha* (C. 1070-1090 A.D.)

Kanda was followed by his son Buddha, a man of pure intellect who, in turn, was succeeded by his son Vigraha who, true to his name, "caused the separation of the wives of his enemies (from their husband) and who possessed power to crush his foes."¹⁸⁶

Dombaka (C. 1019-1110 A.D.)

Vigraha was succeeded by his son Dombaka about whom it is stated that he supported with his hands those falling from high places and together with other princes captured many villages.¹⁸⁷ This may indicate that Dombaka rendered assistance to the neighbouring princes when in distress, and in return obtained their help in annexing a number of the

surrounding villages. This would also show that Dombaka did not rule over a single village of Kīragrāma but was the master of several villages. Dombaka professed Śaiva-faith and worshipped Śiva.

Bhuvana (C. 1110-1130 A.D.)

Dombaka was followed by his son Bhuvana who like his father was a Śaiva and offered great sacrifices to Lord Śiva. He protected his subjects well and also showed devotion to his sovereign, the lord of Trigarta.¹⁸⁸

Kalhaṇa (C. 1130-1150 A.D.) and *Bilhaṇa* (C. 1150-1170 A.D.)

Bhuvan had a son named Kalhaṇa who is stated to have been a virtuous and powerful ruler. Kalhaṇa was followed by Bilhaṇa who was a faithful vassal of his overlord Hṛdaya-candra and married the latter's daughter named Lakṣaṇikā.¹⁸⁹

Rāma (C. 1170-1190 A.D.) and *Lakṣamaṇa* (C. 1190 A.D.)

Bilhaṇa had two sons from Lakṣaṇikā, Rāma and Lakṣamaṇa, the former of whom died early. Lakṣamaṇa was the ruling chief when the Praśastis were composed. He was a powerful ruler who kept intact the territories held by his ancestors.¹⁹⁰ He was a worshipper of Śiva and allotted daily six *Drammas* of money collected in the customs house at Kīragrāma to the Śiva temple erected by the two merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka.¹⁹¹

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68. *Dvitiya Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, verse 39.
69. *Note on Archaeological Work in Kashmir*, p. 21; Deambi, *op. cit.*, pp. 110 ff.
70. *Jonarāja, op. cit.*, vss. 79-91.
71. *op. cit.*
72. *op. cit.*
73. Deambi, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
74. *op. cit.*
75. Deambi, *op. cit.*, pp. 105 f. Pl. 8.
76. *RT.*, V. 477, 480, 482.
77. *Ibid.*, VIII. 33.
78. *op. cit.*, vss. 58-59.
79. Deambi, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 ff, Pl. 9.
80. This reading, however, is by no means certain, *cf. Ibid.*, p 115. Another plausible reading appears to be *Na (n) dana-mahī-jitā* 'by whom was conquered the land of *nandana*, i.e. heaven'. This is in keeping with the spirit of the conventional description of Shihāb-ud-dīn given in the inscription. In the same line Shihāb-ud-dīn is also described as having (by his chivalrous deeds)

eclipsed the excellence of the fame of conquests (*Vijaya-yaśot-karṣa*) won by the illustrious Gonanda and others (*Śrī Gonandādi*). Gonanda is one of the early rulers of Kashmir mentioned in the *Nilamata-purāṇa* and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.

81. Deambi, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff. and Pl. 10.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 125 ff, Pl. 11.
83. *Note on a Tour in Kashmir*, p. 13.
84. Deambi, *op. cit.*, pp. 128 ff. Pl. 12.
85. *Jaina-Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, IV. 334.
86. *Ibid.*, IV. 265.
87. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
88. Vogel, *Antiquities*, pp. 159 ff.
89. Edited by B. Chhabra in the *Antiquities of Chamba State*, part II.
90. *RT.*, VII. 218, 508, VIII. 323, 538, 1083, 1443, 1531.
91. Published with Text and Translation by Vogel, *op. cit.*
92. *Ibid.*, *Preface*, p. 27.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
94. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-147.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 145. It is not known who the enemies of Meruvarman were. Probably they were small Rajput chiefs or Ranas who ruled over small principalities in ancient Chamba.
96. *Chamba Vamśāvalī*, verse 48, *Antiquities*, pp. 85 and 92.
97. *Ibid.*, vss 59-60, pp. 86 and 92.
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108. *op. cit.*, p. 99.
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112. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Eliot *op. cit.*, p. 420, *Struggle for Empire* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan), p. 2.
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114. Verse 69, *Antiquities*, pp. 86, 93.
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146. *Antiquities*, No. 32, pp. 209 ff.
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153. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
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158. *Ibid.*, No. 35, pp 232 ff.
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160. *Ibid.*
161. *Hemakoṣa*, 4,23; *Baijnath-Praśastis*, lines 6, 10, 18, 20, 21; *Epigraphia India*, Vol. I, pp. 97 ff.; where Trigarta and Jālandhara have been used as synoymys.
162. Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, V. 3,116, Pāṇini refers to the Republics as *Saṅghas* as compared to kingdoms which are designated by him as *Janapadas*.
163. For several reference of Trigarta in ihe *Mahābhārata*, see *Sorencen's Index to Mahābhārata*, p. 687.
164. The origin of the name Katoch is uncertain. Moorcraft who visited Nadaun in 1820 states that the Kingdom of Kangra then contained three Provinces, viz., Katoch, Changa and Palam. Katoch seems to have included the country around and to the west of Kangra and it may perhaps be surmised that this was the original name and the nucleus of the State, vide., Vogel and Hutchison, *History of Panjab Hill States*, Vol. I, p. 207.
165. Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. cxxxix.
166. *Ibid.*, pp. ciii, cli, clic.
167. *Ibid.*, p. cli; Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 79.
168. Altekar, *Vākātaka Gupta Age*, p. 29.
169. Watters, *On Yuon chwang*, Vol. I, p. 296.
170. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 259.
171. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 297.
172. *op. cit.*, p. 159.
173. *RT.*, IV. 177.
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176. Vogel and Hutchison, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
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178. *Albirunī's India*, Translation Sachau, Vol. II, p. 11.
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181. VII, 150, 152.
182. *EI.*, Vol. I, pp. 97, ff. The two *Praśastis* of Baijnath are incised on two large stone slabs in the famous temple of Baijnath at Baijnath (ancient Kīragrāma) in the Kangra District of Himachal Pradesh. The *Praśasti* No. I gives an account of the construction of a temple in honour of Lord Vaidyanātha (Baijnath in the vernacular) by two merchant brothers, Manyuka and Āhuka and records the donations made to it by some pious individuals. It contains an eulogistic account of the ruling chief of Kīragrāma named Lakṣmaṇa-candra and is dated in the year 80 in the reign of Jaya-candra who was the lord of Trigarta to

whom Lakṣamaṇa-candra owed allegiance. The date of the *Praśasti sam.* 80, *Jyeṣṭha Śukla Pratipat* corresponds to 2nd of May, 1204 A.D. The *Praśasti* No. II contains a brief account of the baronial house of Kiragrāma, to which Lakṣmaṇa-candra belonged, right from its founder named Kanda. It, besides, records the donations made to the Śiva temple by the ruling Chief Lakṣamaṇa-candra, by his mother Lakṣaṇikā and by the builders of the temple. It is dated in the Śaka year 1126 which corresponds to A.D. 1204.

183. *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 17 ff.
184. *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 125.
185. *Baijnath-Praśasti*, No. II, lines 11-20.
186. *Ibid.*, line 13.
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CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATION

Among the extant Śāradā epigraphic records, only three title deeds of Chamba, which contain lists of the State officers addressed by the kings at the time of the land grants,¹ convey some idea of the administrative structure as it obtained in that hill State in the 10th, 11th and the 12th centuries. Our present account, as such, would be confined mainly to these records though occasionally references will be made to a few of our other inscriptions too which furnish some information in this regard.

I. MONARCHY AND POSITION OF THE KING

The type of government which prevailed in ancient Chamba, Kangra, Kashmir and Gandhāra was monarchy and it was generally hereditary. We have only one instance of king Āsaṭa's succession to his brother Soma-varman² which has to be attributed to the absence of any legitimate heir on the part of the latter. The rulers of the hill State of Chamba and of Gandhāra assumed the sovereign titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Parameśvara*.³ The kings of Kashmir and Kangra (ancient *Trigarta*), on the other hand, are often given in our records the simple titles of *Śrīmat* and *Śrī*,⁴ despite the fact that they had comparatively larger dominions under their sway.

The kings of Chamba were pious and generous too. Not only did they build temples but also made donations of land. In their charters they are usually styled as *Paramabhāgavata* and *Paramamāheśvara* which shows that they were great worshippers of *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva*.⁵ They are also described as

Paramabrahmanya which may either mean greatly devoted to sacred knowledge or devout worshippers of god Kārttikeya. They also sometimes conferred titles on their feudatories for meritorious service. Thus, king Lalita-varman conferred the title of *Rājānaka* on his vassal Nāgapāla.⁶

The Queens

Throughout the area of our inscriptions we find that queens bore, generally, the title of *Mahārājñī*. Like kings, they were piously disposed and built religious institutions. The queens of Chamba, Kangra and Gandhāra do not seem to have taken any active part in the administration. But those of Kashmir actually participated in the State administration and even ruled the country at times. Thus, queen Diddā held the sceptre of the Kashmir throne for twenty years. It is interesting to find her described in the two inscriptions of her reign with the masculine epithets of *deva* and *rājan*.⁷ This evidently speaks of her king-like energy and political astuteness which enabled her to rule over Kashmir with firmness in very troubled times.

The Princes

We get very meagre information about the position and status of princes from our records. In three Chamba copper plate grants,⁸ the term *Rājaputra* occurs in the beginning of the list of officials, which would show that princes were given high administrative posts in the government.

The Ministry

The kings of Chamba did not act by themselves, but had, also, ministers to advise them. This is indicated by the mention of *Rājāmātya* in the list of officials.⁹ This term, which is often met with in the copper plate inscriptions, denotes a minister or a councillor to the king. The *dūta* of Kulait grant of Soma-varman¹⁰ bears the title *Mahāmātya*

which would indicate that besides the ministers there was also a Prime Minister or a Chief Councillor.

The Feudatories

The feudatory chieftains who ruled over small principalities sometimes not extending beyond a few villages, and owed allegiance to rulers of Chamba in whose regnal years they invariably dated their inscriptions, bore the designation *Rājānaka*. That the term *rājānaka* denotes a feudatory chief is also indicated by one of our inscriptions where the terms *rājānaka* and *sāmanta* are applied to the same person. Sometimes they received their titles from the overlords of Chamba as is indicated by the conferment of the title of *rājānaka* by Lalita-varman on his vassal *Nāgapāla* as referred to above.

The *Rājānakas* head the list of the officers mentioned in the copper plate grants. This would indicate that they were also attached sometimes to the courts of rulers of Chamba and occupied prominent position in the official hierarchy. In the title deed of Soma-varman, two *Rājānakas* named Rihilla and Kāhilla figure as *Mahāmātya* or (Prime Minister) and *Mahākṣapaṭalika* or the Chief Recordkeeper.

This designation was also borne by chieftains of *Kīragrāma*, modern Baijnath in Kangra who acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of *Trigarta* or *Jālandhara*. Contemporary ruling chief Lakṣamaṇa and his predecessors mentioned in the Baijnath *Prasastis* bore the designation *Rājānaka* and owed allegiance to the kings of *Trigarta*.

II. DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT

Judicial

It appears that administration of justice in ancient Chamba vested in an officer called *Rājasthānīya*.¹¹ The office *rājasthāna* and its holder the *Rājasthānīya* are also mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*,¹² and according to Stein¹³ the officer, holding the office of *Rājasthānīya*, was analogous to that of *Rājagrhya* and it was connected with the administration of justice. He

adds, it may be assumed that *Rājasthānīya* discharged duties equivalent to those of Chief Justice.¹⁴

Another officer associated with the judicial department was *Daṇḍika*.¹⁵ He was probably a magistrate who administered punishment (*daṇḍa*).

Revenue

The officers connected with the Revenue Department were *Pramātara*, *Mahākṣapaṭalika*, *Kṣetrapa*, *Śaulkika*, *Bhāgika* and *Tarapati*.

The term *pramātara*¹⁶ is obviously derived from *pra* + *mā* 'measure' and it seems that the functions of *Pramātara* were measuring or the surveying of land and, also, possibly, the assessment of land revenue.¹⁷

The *Mahākṣapaṭalika*, who figures as *dūta* 'messenger' in our two copper plate grants,¹⁸ was an officer in charge of land records, who kept an accurate record of different fields and their boundaries. His office was known as *akṣapaṭala*¹⁹ and as a passage in the *Rājatarāṅgi*²⁰ would show, it was from this office that the *śāsanas* or the charters certifying grants of land were issued.²¹

Kṣetrapa was an officer in charge of cultivated land or of royal farms.²²

Śaulkika, was a customs officer responsible for the assessment and the collection of custom, octroi and the excise duties.²³

The office of *Śaulkika* was also known in Kashmir (*Samayamātṛkā*, ii, 102). There was also a superior officer over *Śaulkika* called *Śaulkikādhyakṣa* (*Kuṭṭaṇimata* 531) who would appear to have been the chief executive of the customs office.

*Bhāgika*²⁴ was probably the revenue officer, responsible for the assessment and the collection of *bhāga* or the State share of land produce.²⁵

*Tarapati*²⁶ was the officer in charge of ferries. *Tara* or ferry is mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*²⁷ as a source of revenue along with *sītā*, *bhāga*, *bali*, *kara*, etc. It is, thus possible that ferries were a source of revenue in ancient Chamba as well

and that *Tarapati* was in charge of the collection of ferry-duties, and also of the proper maintenance of the ferry service. Vogel points out that the ferries are non-existent in Chamba and it is doubtful if the office *Tarapati* at all existed in ancient Chamba.²⁸

It may, however, be pointed out here that *tara* does not include only the boats, but any device used to cross the river. In Chamba, the fastly flowing streams are crossed by a technical device locally called *garuru*. It consists of a small plank suspended from a long rope or wire with its two ends tied to two poles pitched at the two river banks. The plank, which carries the passengers, is controlled by the ferrymen at the two banks with the help of a long rope tied to its two upper ends. It would seem that some such devices also existed in ancient Chamba and officer in charge of their maintenance and control was known as *Tarapati*. Ferries in ancient Chamba must have been a source of revenue as well, as they were in Kashmir (cf. *Samayamāṭṛkā*, v. 85).

MILITARY AND POLICE DEPARTMENTS

The army of ancient Chamba consisted of four corps, viz., elephant, camel, cavalry and infantry with each corps,²⁹ under the charge of an officer. Camels were, most probably, used for carrying loads and ammunition. The Sungal grant mentions two officers who seem to be connected with the army. They are *Gaulmika* and *Vīrayātrika*.³⁰

Gaulmika appears to have been an officer in charge of a *gulma*. The word *gulma* occurs in such early works as *Mahābhārata*, *Manusmṛti* and *Amarakośa*. In the *Mahābhārata*, it is described as division of an army.³¹ In the *Manusmṛti*³² it occurs as a guard station which a king is advised to place after every second, third or fourth village in order to protect his dominion. In the *Amarakośa* a *gulma* is stated to consist of three *senāmukhas* 'van-guards'.³³ The term also occurs at several places in the *Arthasāstra*³⁴ and is taken by Dr. Ghoshal to mean a police station where a kind of cess called *gulmadeya* was collected.³⁵ Some more information is furnished by the *Mudrārākṣasa* which mentions *Gulmādhikārī* and *Gulmasthāna*.³⁶

It would seem from the references given in the footnote below, that *gulmasthāna* was the check post where all egresses and ingresses were checked and the officers in charge of those stations were obviously known as *Gulmādhikāris*.³⁷ It would thus seem that *Gaulmika* in ancient Chamba was an army officer in charge of military police station which controlled the movements of the people in the cantonement area.

As regards *Vīrayātri*, we cannot put forth any exact interpretation. One of the meanings of *Yātri* given in the *Monier William's Dictionary*³⁸ is campaign, expedition and we may, as such, suggest that *Vīrayātri* was an officer who was expected to play the leading role in a military campaign.

The mention of tribes *Khaśa* and *Kulika* in the list of officers would show that their heads or chiefs were employed in the Chamba army and were given high posts.

Khaśas are mentioned in the *Bṛhatsamhitā*³⁹ along with *Kaśmīras*, *Abhisāras*, *Dārvas*, *Kīras*, *Kulūtas* and *Kaulindas*. They are also mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*⁴⁰ and regarding their position Stein remarks, "Their settlement extended as shown by the numerous passages of the chronicle in a wide semi-circle from Kaṣṭavar in the south east to the Vitastā valley in the west."⁴¹ *Khaśas* are also mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* they are described as *parvataśreṇīyaḥ* or dwelling along the mountains.⁴² In the *Mahābhārata*, they are included in the army of Duryodana along with other tribes like the *Daradās*, the *Śakas*, the *Pisācas*, etc.⁴³

It would thus seem that *Khaśas* in our case were fight-loving tribal people who inhabited the hill tracts somewhere in the vicinity of Chamba and whose heads were employed in the Chamba army and given responsible posts.

The term *Kulika* which means the 'chief of a guild'⁴⁴ is, perhaps, used in our lists in tribal sense like the immediately preceding word *Khaśa*. *Kulikas* are mentioned in the Nālandā copper plate of Devapāla-deva along with the *Mālavas*, the *Khaśas*, the *Karānta* and the *Hūnas*.⁴⁵ It would seem that *Kulikas*, like the *Khaśas*, were a tribal people who were employed as mercenary soldiers in the army of ancient Chamba. Their exact position is, however, not known. In

Chamba, their main settlement was, probably, at *Kulikagoṣṭha*, mentioned in the Kulait copper plate grant of Soma-varman⁴⁶ and identified by Vogel with the modern village of Kulait.⁴⁷

Connected with the Police department was *Chaurodharaṇika* who as the name indicates was a police officer specially charged with the investigation of thefts and apprehension of thieves and other criminals.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

The State of Chamba appears to have been divided into provinces which were governed by provincial governors called *Uparikas*. The term *Uparika* occurs in several inscriptions of the Gupta period, but its exact significance remained obscure for a long time. Thus, Dr. Fleet, while editing the Bihar Pillar inscription, remarked, "*Uparika* is a technical official title, the exact purport of which is not known and a suitable rendering of which cannot be offered at present."⁴⁸ Similarly, Dr. Bloch, while editing the Basarh Seal No. 20, remarked, "*Uparika* means a class of officials whose functions are not known."⁴⁹ The occurrence of the word in the Damodarpur copper plate inscriptions of Kumāragupta, however, has given some clue as to the exact significance and the purport of the term. In the Damodarpur copper plate inscription of Kumāragupta of the year 124, an *Uparika* Citradatta is described as governing the province (*bhukti*) of *Puṇḍrabhukti*.⁵⁰ In the same inscription, Vetra-varman, an officer appointed by Citradatta and bearing the title *Kumārāmātya* is described as administering the district of *Koṭivarṣa*.⁵¹ From this it can be inferred that *Uparika* was an officer higher in status than the District officer and in charge of provincial administration. The same inference can be drawn from Bloch's Basarh seal Nos. 20 and 22 which read *Ṭirabhuktya-Uparika-adhikaraṇasya* and *Ṭira-Kumārāmātya-adhikaraṇasya*⁵² and which on the analogy of Damodarpur plates can be interpreted as, "The seal of the *Uparika* in charge of *Ṭirabhukti* province and of the *Kumārāmātya* stationed at the district headquarters called *Ṭira*."⁵³

Dr. Chhabra, however, points out that the office of *Uparika* existed even in the remote past and the earliest

definition of the term has been given by Bṛhaspati which has been quoted by Viśvarūpācārya in his commentary on the Yājñaval kyasmṛti.⁵⁴ On the basis of this definition Dr. Chhabra opines that an *Uparika* was an officer invested with two-fold authority, namely, judicial as well as administrative and his high office might; therefore, correspond to that of a magistrate.⁵⁵

However, as has been pointed out by Saletore,⁵⁶ the status of *Uparika* was much higher than that of a magistrate as can be seen from the fact that in several inscriptions he is styled as *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsāmanta*. Moreover, the usual term for magistrate in the inscriptions is *Daṇḍika*.

We may, as such, conclude that *Uparika* was an officer of high status who in ancient Chamba, as in other parts of India, was in charge of the provincial administration.

The provinces were divided into districts called *maṇḍalas* and the latter into villages called *grāmas*. The names of several *maṇḍalas* and *grāmas* are mentioned in our copper plates. The mention of the officer *Viṣayapati* in the Sungal grant of Vidagdha⁵⁷ would suggest that the officer responsible for district administration was known as *Viṣayapati*. But Dr. Vogel points out that since the term *viṣaya* is not met with in the inscriptions of Chamba, there is good reason to doubt whether the office of *Viṣayapati* was known in that State.⁵⁸ According to him, the district administration in ancient Chamba vested in an officer called *Cāṭa*, frequently mentioned in our and other copper plate inscriptions.⁵⁹ He remarks that Chamba appears to be the only place in the whole of India, where the ancient term *cāṭa* is still extant in the modern form *cār* meaning 'head of a pargana'.⁶⁰ However, as has rightly been pointed out by Dr. Sircar⁶¹ it is doubtful if *Cāṭa* in ancient Chamba carried on the same functions as were done till recently by *Cār*. The *Cāṭa* along with *Bhaṭa* is mentioned in our copper plates as belonging to the lower rank of the State officials and it is doubtful if the meaning of *Cār*, as prevalent at present in Chamba, can be applied to *Cāṭa* in our inscriptions. Thus, in the absence of the mention of any such terms as *maṇḍaleśa* or *maṇḍalādhipati* in our title deeds, we are left to conclude that the district administration in ancient Chamba as in several other part of India was in the charge of an officer called *Viṣayapati*.

The districts were divided into villages. The names of several villages are mentioned in our records, but unfortunately they do not furnish any definite information regarding the village administration. The usual terms *grāmika*, *grāmapati*, *grāmamahattara*, denoting village officers and met with in the copper plate inscriptions, do not occur in the title deeds of Chamba. We have, however, the mention of a term *Bhogika* in the Sungal grant,⁶² one of the meanings of which given in the Monier William's *Dictionary* is 'chief of a village'.⁶³ This meaning of the term is corroborated by the Navasari copper plate inscription of Pulakeśīrāja,⁶⁴ where we find mention of *grāmabhogika*,⁶⁵ which V.V. Mirashi renders as 'headman of a village'.⁶⁶ Thus, it would seem that the village administration in ancient Chamba was carried on by the village headmen, called *Bhogikas*.

The other officials mentioned in our charters who seem to be connected with the district or village administration are: *Segāna*, *Cāṭa*, *Bhaṭa*, *Pratihāra*, *Gamāgamika*, *Abhitvaramāṇa*, *Daṇḍavāsika*.

Segāna is mentioned in the Salhi fountain inscription of A.D. 1170 as the designation of a local official of Pangī.⁶⁷ The term is not known from any other source. It is, obviously, not Sanskrit. According to a suggestion of Mr. A.H. Francke, quoted by Dr. Vogel, the word is, perhaps, a corruption of Tibetan *sogampā* meaning 'a custom house officer or tax-collector'.⁶⁸ Dr. Vogel, commenting on the terms, remarks, "We may assume that the functions of the *Segāna* were substantially the same as those of the head official of Pangī, who until recent times bore the title of *palsāra*".⁶⁹ He adds, "This term, which is not found in other parts of Chamba, is the designation of the head of a pargana in Mandi State and is known to have existed in Kulu also, where it has been replaced by the term *negī*".⁷⁰

Thus, though the exact functions of *Segāna* are not quite clear, it may be assumed that the distant districts, like Pangī, in ancient Chamba were placed under the charge of the officers who bore the designation *Segāna*. It would seem that these officers were not only responsible for the internal

administration of their districts, but they were also required to collect customs and other royal dues.

Cāṭa and *Bhaṭa* are often mentioned together in the copper plate inscriptions. *Bhaṭa*, which literally means a soldier, probably, denotes a village constable and *Cāṭa* the chief or the head constable. According to D.C. Sircar, *Bhaṭa* means a Paik, Barkandaz or Piada, i.e., a constable and *Cāṭa*, the leader of the group of *Bhaṭas*.⁷¹ In the Surat copper plate inscription of Vyāgrasena, the *Cāṭas* and the *Bhaṭas* are advised not to enter the village donated as an *agrahāra* except for arresting thieves and rebels.⁷² This would show that the duty of the *Cāṭas* and the *Bhaṭas* was to maintain peace and order in the villages and to apprehend criminals. They were often harsh and exacting in their ways and were a source of constant oppression and vexation to the poor farmer. In the Sungal grant we have an interesting passage which gives an idea of the amount of vexation and oppression that the poor villagers in ancient Chamba were subjected to by the *Cāṭas* and the *Bhaṭas*. The passage reads, "And of our *Cāṭas* and *Bhaṭas*, no one will be allowed to enter his (i.e., grantee's) house to cut or crush his corn, sugarcane or pasture (?), whether green or ripe, nor to take *rocika* (?) or *ciṭola* (?) nor to carry off stools, benches or couches, nor to seize his wood, fuel, grass, chaff, and so on. Not even the slightest oppression or vexation should be inflicted (on him), nor on his ploughmen, cowherds, servants, maid-servants, and all other people that are dependent on him."⁷³

Pratihāra is mentioned in the Salhi,⁷⁴ Sai⁷⁵ and Nal⁷⁶ fountain inscriptions as the designation of a local official. In the Salhi inscription he is mentioned immediately after *Segāna* and it would seem that he was subordinate to *Segāna*. His functions, as a district official, are, however, not exactly known. The inscriptions referred to above, do not furnish any information on this point. *Pratihāra* which literally means 'door keeper', is frequently mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions and denotes a 'palace guard' who guarded the entry into the royal palace and was responsible for its defence.⁷⁷ But this meaning cannot, obviously, apply to *Pratihāra* in our case. Dr. Vogel remarks, "We may perhaps conjecture that

the *Pratihāra* of the three fountain inscriptions held the same position as modern *Likhnihara* who is the deputy of *Car*, keeps the revenue accounts and does the clerical work.”⁷⁸ However, he points out that he does not assume any etymological connection between the two words.⁷⁹ *Pratihāra* is also mentioned in the *Śukranītisāra*, among the six officers which a king is advised to appoint in every town and village.⁸⁰ But, unfortunately, it does not specifically mention the functions of the official. According to V.V. Mirashi, he was probably the head of the town or village police.⁸¹ However, all that we can say is, that *Pratihāra* in all probability was an official lower in status to that of *Segāna* and connected with village or town administration.

Gamāgamika according to V.V. Mirashi was an official common to both the town and village whose function was to keep a watch on persons coming into or going out of the town or the village.⁸² He refers to the *Śukranītisāra* which mentions a similar officer, ‘who was specially in charge of the *panthaśālā* or sarai of the village, who made inquiries about the caste, family, name and residence of the traveller, the place he came from and was going to and after taking away his arms, if he had any, made arrangements for guarding the sarai at night, and in the morning returned the arms to the traveller and escorted him to the limit of the village.’⁸³

Abhitvaramāṇa, which literally means, ‘one who hurries’⁸⁴ was probably a subordinate officer responsible for the expeditious despatch of the urgent messages from the district headquarters to the towns and villages.⁸⁵

Daṇḍavāsika

Three Chamba copper plate inscriptions, viz., the Sungal grant of Vidagdha,⁸⁶ the Chamba grant of Somavarman and Āsaṭa⁸⁷ and the Thundu grant of Āsaṭa,⁸⁸ and the Salhi fountain inscription⁸⁹ mention an official with the designation *Daṇḍavāsika*. In the last named inscription it occurs immediately after *Segāna* and *Pratihāra*, noted above. Vogel feels inclined to take *daṇḍavāsika* as a variant of *Daṇḍapāsika*, meaning a ‘police officer’.⁹⁰ However, it may be mentioned

here that in all the four inscriptions, referred to above, the word occurs in the same form and there does not seem to be any apparent justification for taking it as a variant of *daṇḍapāśika*. The word *daṇḍavāsika* is explained in the St. Petersburg and Monier William's *dictionaries* as a 'door keeper'.⁹¹ However, it is doubtful if this meaning can be applied to the term in our case, especially when it is mentioned as a designation of a district officer in Pangī, in the above noted fountain inscription. The word seems to be represented by the modern Oriya '*daṇḍvāsi*' which means a 'village watchman'.⁹² We may, as such, assume that *Daṇḍavāsika* was a subordinate district official who was mainly charged with the duty of looking after the towns and villages in his jurisdiction during nights.

We may now turn our attention to the officials who are mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions of Chamba, but the individual functions of whom in the administration of ancient Chamba are not clearly known. These include *Kumārāmātya*,⁹³ *Sarobhaṅga*,⁹⁴ *Khaṇḍarakṣa*⁹⁵ or *Khadgarakṣa*,⁹⁶ *Bhogapati*,⁹⁷ *Nihilapati*,⁹⁸ *Prāntapāla*,⁹⁹ *Veṭakila*,¹⁰⁰ *Chatrachāyika*,¹⁰¹ *Parikara*,¹⁰² *Sanniyuktaka*¹⁰³ and *Viniyuktaka*.¹⁰⁴

Kumārāmātya is an official title frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. It was, at first, taken as a *Tatpuruṣa* compound and explained as 'minister to the prince or the heir apparent'.¹⁰⁵ Dr. Bloch took the expression as *Karmadhāraya* and explained it as *Kaumāratārābhya amātyaḥ* 'one who has been in service of the king from that time when he was a boy'.¹⁰⁶ But Dr. Ghoshal rightly pointed out that the exact purport and significance of the term could be understood only from the context in which it occurred in the inscriptions.¹⁰⁷

The term is first mentioned in the Allahabad *Prāśasti* of Samudragupta, where *Hariṣeṇa*, the author of the *Prāśasti*, describes himself as *Sandhivigrahika*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka* and as servant of the king.¹⁰⁸ This shows that the officer with the title *Kumārāmātya* also held other high posts of foreign-minister and the commander-in-chief.

In the Karamadanda inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta, the donor Pṛthivisena describes himself as *mantrin* (minister) and as *Kumārāmātyā*, who afterwards became the

Mahābalādhikṛta (Supreme Commander of forces).¹⁰⁹ This indicates that *Kumārāmātya* was a minister or a state councillor who could rise to the high office of Supreme Commander.

In the Damodarpur plate Nos. I and II, belonging to the reign of Kumāragupta referred to above, it is stated that the *bhukti* or province of *Puṇḍravardhana* was governed by an officer called *Uparika* while the district of *Koṭivarsa* was administered by a subordinate officer *Kumārāmātya*. This would show that *Kumārāmātya* was an officer in charge of district administration who worked directly under the provincial governor—*Uparika*.

The same inference can be drawn from the two seals discovered at Basarh which read: *Ṭirabhukity-Uparika-adhikaraṇasya* and *Ṭira-Kumārāmātya-adhikaraṇa*, which, as pointed out by Dr. Ghoshal, can be on the analogy of the Damodarpur plates, referred to above, taken to refer respectively to the *Uparika* in charge of *Ṭirabhukti* province and *Kumārāmātya* stationed at the district headquarters.¹¹⁰

It would, thus, seem that *Kumārāmātya* was, in reality, a title of a class of officers who sometimes worked as state councillors, sometimes as district officers and who by dint of their efficiency and competence rose to the high position of ministers and commanders-in-chief.

To what particular class of officers did the title apply in ancient Chamba, we have no means to ascertain.

Sarobhaṅga is a term of uncertain meaning. According to D.C. Sircar, *Sarobhaṅga* is the same as *Sarabhaṅga* or *Śarabhaṅga*, mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions.¹¹¹ According to a suggestion offered by Dr. R.G. Basak, "*Śarabhaṅga*, may have been a designation applied to superior military officers in the army equipped with bows and arrows".¹¹² Dr. B.C. Sen remarks, "*Śarabhaṅga* may have been an officer whose usual function was to accompany the king on the hunting expedition, if the use of arrows was the characteristic marks of his service and to look after business relating to such activities of his master."¹¹³ Dr. Sircar equates the term with Persian *Sarhang* and Hindi *Serang*, meaning a military governor or a leader of forces.¹¹⁴

If the proposed connection of our *Sarobhaṅga* with *Śarabhaṅga* be true, and if the explanations of the terms

referred to above be correct, it may be assumed that *Sarobhaṅga* in ancient Chamba was superior army officer skilled in the use of bow and arrow and responsible for the command and control of the royal forces.

Khaṇḍarakṣa is mentioned in the Sungal and the Thundu copper plate grants, whereas the Chamba grant mentions *Khaḍgarakṣa* in place of *Khaṇḍarakṣa*.¹¹⁵ It is not clear if *Khaṇḍarakṣa* and *Khaḍgarakṣa* are the separate designations of two officials or if one is a mistake for the other and both denote the same official.¹¹⁶ *Khaṇḍarakṣa* which is mentioned in several Pāla grants is explained by Monier William as 'Superintendent of wards'.¹¹⁷ We may assume that *Khaṇḍarakṣa* was an officer in charge of a town and had the same status as of the modern Ward Officer. *Khaḍgarakṣa* which literally means a 'swords man' was probably the king's body-guard.

Bhogapati, frequently mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions, denotes an officer in charge of a territorial unit called *bhoga*.¹¹⁸ It is, however, not clear as to what particular territorial division did the word signify in ancient Chamba.

The term *nihelapati* is of uncertain meaning. It is mentioned among our title deeds only in the Sungal grant. It immediately follows *Viṣayapati* and we may, as suggested by Vogel,¹¹⁹ assume that *nihela* is a sub-division of a *viṣaya* and *Nihelapati*, the officer in charge of such a sub-division. The term *nihelapati* appears to be identical with *nihilapati* found in the Nirmand copper plate as the designation of the *dūta* of the grant.¹²⁰ It would seem that the office of *Nihelapati* was peculiar to the Punjab Hills.

Prāntapāla, as the name suggests, was probably an army officer, in charge of the border areas or the frontiers of the kingdom.

The functions of *Veṭakila* are uncertain. Vogel proposes to derive the word from Sanskrit *vīṭikā*, a diminutive of *vīṭa* meaning a little 'ball', but used as an abbreviation of *tāmbūla-vīṭikā* in the sense of 'a preparation of the areca nut enveloped in a leaf of the betel plant'.¹²¹ *Veṭakila* may, as such, denote a 'betel carrier', who was a satellite of the king, no less important than the 'parosal bearer'.

Chattrachāyika is mentioned only in the Sungal grant. The term is not known from any other source. Literally it means 'parosal shadower'. *Chattra*, as is well known, was an important emblem of royalty in ancient India. As an official title, *Chattrachāyika* would denote a 'parosal bearer', who was an important attendant of the king.

Parikara, which literally means a servant, does not according to Vogel, appear to be the designation of an official.¹²² However, *parikara*, as also the *sevaka* mentioned in our title deeds, probably denote the menials in the State employ.

The exact functions of *Sanniyuktaka* and *Viniyuktaka* are not known. In the Maliya copper plate of Dharasena II¹²³ and in the Amgachi and Bhagalpur grants,¹²⁴ the term *viniyukta* is preceded by *āyuktaka* which is generally rendered as an officer.¹²⁵ *Sānniyuktaka* and *Viniyuktaka* would, as such, seem to be the subordinates or the deputies of *Āyuktaka*,¹²⁶ but the exact functions of all the three are not known.

We have discussed above in detail the official titles mentioned in the inscriptions of Chamba. We may now turn to discuss the official designations mentioned in some of our other records.

The Śāradā inscription from Hund of the year 154, mentions three officials with the designations, *Navakarmapati*, *Pañcakula* and *Kāyastha*, in connection with the consecration of a temple by *Mahārājñī Kāmeśvarīdevī*.¹²⁷

Navakarmapati denotes an officer in charge of new constructions. He was probably an architect who not only designed the temples and buildings, but also supervised their construction. In the present case also, he appears to have been an architect who supervised the construction of the temple founded by the queen.¹²⁸

Pañcakula which literally means an assembly of five was probably the same as modern Panchayat Board, which managed the affairs of a village. As an official title *Pañcakula* would denote, the head or chief of this assembly or board, who had the same status as the modern Sarpanch.

Kāyastha, a familiar term in the inscriptions, denotes a scribe or a clerk who drafted and composed the inscriptions.

The Khonamuh inscription of the reign of Zain-ul-Ābidīn mentions certain Chindaka as *Deśādhipati* of *Khonamuśa* or

Khonamuh.¹²⁹ *Deśa*, frequently mentioned in the inscriptions, signifies a territorial division.¹³⁰ Since Khonamuh is too small a village to be called either a province or a district and since districts in Kashmir were generally known as *viṣayas*, we may assume that *deśa* was a sub-division of a district, corresponding probably to the modern pargana and *Deśādhipati* was an officer in charge of such a sub-division.

REFERENCES

1. *Antiquities*, No. 15, lines 6-9; No. 25, lines 13-15; No. 26 lines 7-10. The list is comparatively longer in the Sungal grant, No. 15; where the total number of officials mentioned is 36. The lists of officials contained in the Chamba title deeds present a striking similarity to those contained in the Amagachi and Bhagalpur grants of Vīgrahapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla both of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 167, and Vol. XV, p. 306. This has led Dr. Vogel to conclude that the lists of the Chamba title deeds cannot be regarded as authentic for ancient Chamba, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-21. He doubts if all the officials enumerated in these documents can be regarded to have actually existed in ancient Chamba. However, it cannot be taken for granted that the lists have been simply "copied from certain fixed forms in use all over India" and are not based on actual reality. The majority of officials can be, as will be seen in the sequel, regarded to have actually existed in ancient Chamba though regarding some of them nothing definite can be said as their individual functions are not yet definitely known.
2. *cf.*, *Antiquities*, No. 24, lines 18, 19 where Somavarman of Chamba is described as the son of Sālavāhana and queen Rārḍhādevī and No. 26, lines 5, 6 where Āsaṭa also is described as the son of Sālavāhana and queen Rārḍhā.
3. *cf.*, *e.g.*, *op. cit.*, No. 4, 11.3, 4; No. 15 11.4, 5; No. 24, 1.19; No. 25, 1.13 etc. and *EI*, Vol XXI, pp. 298, 301.
4. *cf.* *e.g.*, S.P.S. Museum inscriptions of Jayasīmha and Paramāṇḍadeva, Bijbehara inscriptions of Rājadeva, Deambi, *Śāradā inscriptions*, Nos. 3, 4, 7 and Baijnath *Praśastis*, *EI. I.* pp. 97 ff.
5. See fn. 3 *supra*.
6. *Antiquities*, No. 32, 11.12, 13. Regarding the title *Rājānaka*, which is generally borne by the feudatory chiefs of Chamba in their inscriptions and which occurs in the beginning of the lists of officers in our title deeds see Vogel, *Antiquities*, pp. 110 ff., for a detailed discussion.
7. Deambi, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 101.

8. *Antiquities*, No. 15. 1.6; No. 25, 1.14; No. 26, 1.7.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.* No. 24, 1.24. *Duta* often mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions denotes a high officer who conveyed the royal order regarding the grant of a village or land, see Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 100, n. 3; Sircar, *IE.*, p. 143.
11. See fn. 8 *supra*; *op. cit.*, No. 14, 1.10.
12. *RT.*, VII, 601, VIII, 2557.
13. *RT.*, trans. p. 316 n.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Antiquities*, I, No. 15, 1.9; No. 25, 1.15; No. 26, 1.10.
16. *Ibid.*, No. 15, 1.7. It is also mentioned in the Baijnath *Praśasti* No. II, 1.27, where Rāma, the poet of the *Praśastis* states that his father Bhṛṅgaka was a Parmātara of the king of Kashmir.
17. *Ch. CII*. IV, p. xxli. Vogel refers to a passage in Śrivarā's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (1.70) where *Pramātara* appears to denote an officer entrusted with administration of justice, *Antiquities* pp. 122-23.
18. *Antiquities.*, I, Nos. 24, 25.
19. The details of the functions carried on by this office are described in the *Arthaśāstra*, II. 7 under *gaṇanādhikāra*. These include the maintaining of the records of (1) the income and expenditure of the State, (2) the lands in general, and (3) the lands in the personal possession of the king, queen and the princes, and so on.
20. *RT.*, V. 397-98 also Stein's *trans.*, Vol. I, p. 228 n. Raṅga a powerful Domba was granted the village of Helu as an *agrahāra* by King Cakravartman. But the recorder of the official documents known as *Paṭṭopādhyāya* in Kashmir did not execute the document relating to the grant. Raṅga then proceeded to the *Akṣapaṭala* (office) and asked the officer concerned why he had not issued the requisite documents in his favour.
21. These charters were written by officials called *Karaṇa-Kāyasthas* or simply *Kāyastha* in our records. *Kāyastha*, a familiar term in the inscriptions and literature denotes a scribe. *Karaṇa* according to *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 51, 52, means a document. So *Karaṇa-Kāyastha* would denote 'writer of documents'. Vogel renders both the terms as 'writer of legal documents' *Antiquities*, pp. 164, 187, 200.
22. *Kṣetra*, is defined in the *Amarakośa*, 1.5.6; 1.10.13, as a special type of land capable of producing all kinds of crops. In the *Arthaśāstra*, II. 15 it denotes 'royal farms'.
23. See *infra*, Chapter VI.
24. This officer is mentioned only in the Sungal grant of Vidagdha, *Antiquities*, p. 166.

25. For *Bhāga* see *infra*, Chapter VI.
26. *Antiquities*, I. No. 15, 1.3; No. 25, 1.14; No. 26, 1.9.
27. *AS.*, II. 6.
28. *op. cit.*, p. 128.
29. This is indicated by the mention of *hastyaśvoṣṭrabala-vyāpṛtaka* (rendered by Vogel as "those occupied with elephants, horses, camels and forces) in the Sungal grant, *op. cit.*, No. 15, 1.7, pp. 166, 168.
30. *op. cit.*, 1.8.
31. *M. Bh.*, I. 290.
32. *MS.*, VII. 114.
33. *Amar.* II. 80.
34. II. 16, 35; III. 20 etc.
35. *History of Revenue System*, p. 292.
36. *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act. V.
37. In the *Mudrārākṣasa* Act. V, *Kṣapaṇaka* cautions Siddhārthaka lest he be arrested by the *Gulmādhikāris* for entering into Malayaketū's camp without a passport. Again, in the same Act, Dirghrakṣa, Officer in charge of *Gulmasthāna*, sends a message to Malayaketu that they had arrested a man with a letter while about to leave the camp without a permit.
38. *MW.*, p. 849.
39. XIV. 20-31.
40. I. 317, VII. 217, VIII. 177, 1074, etc.
41. *RT.*, trans., Vol. II, p. 430.
42. *Mar.*, *Pu.* (ed. by Pargiter) p. 346.
43. *M. Bh.*, *Sabhāparvan*, 1850.
44. *Monier William*, p. 295.
45. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 321.
46. *Antiquities*, p. 185.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 127.
48. *Fleet, CII.*, Vol. III, p. 52, fn. 1.
49. *ASI. An. Rep.*, 1904-5, p. 19.
50. *EI.*, XV, p. 130.
51. *Ibid.*
52. See fn. 47, *supra*.
53. Cf. Ghoshal, 'New Light on the Gupta Administrative System', *Proceedings of the 6th Oriental Conference*, pp. 211 ff.
54. Dr. Chabbra, 'Office of Uparika', *D.R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 231-32.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
56. *Saletore, Life in the Gupta Age*, pp. 260-61.
57. *Antiquities*, No. 15, p. 166.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 130 ff.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

61. *IEG.*, p. 362.
62. *Antiquities*, No. 15, 1.9, p. 166.
63. *MW.*, p. 767.
64. *CIL.*, Vol. IV, No. 30, p. 137 ff.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 141. The term is mentioned immediately after *Viṣaya-pati*.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
67. *Antiquities*, No. 33, p. 222.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. Sircar, *IE.*, p. 361, *IEG.*, pp. 51, 67-68.
72. *CIL.*, Vol. IV, p. 27, *cora-rājapaththyākāri-varjja* (varjjama) *cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśya*, also cf., *EI*, VIII, p. 287, where we have *a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśyam coradrohaka-varjam*.
73. *Antiquities*, I. No. 15 ll. 23-25, pp. 167 and 169.
74. *Antiquities*, p. 222. In this inscription *Pratihāra* is described as an official of *Pāṅgati* (modern Pangti).
75. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
77. Cf. *IEG.*, p. 259.
78. *Antiquities*, p. 135.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *SNS.*, II, 120-21.
81. *CIL.*, Vol. IV, p. cxliv.
82. *Ibid.*, p. cxlv.
83. *SNS.*, I. pp. 270-71; *CIL.*, Vol. IV, p. cxiv.
84. The word is derived from *abhi* + *tvar*, which means 'to be in haste', Cf. *MW.*, p. 62.
85. D.C. Sircar renders the term as "the letter carrier or a special kind of messenger", *IEG.*, p. 2.
86. *Antiquities*, I. No. 15, 1.9, p. 166.
87. *Ibid.*, No. 25, 1.15, p. 193.
88. *Ibid.*, No. 26, 1.10, p. 199.
89. *Ibid.*, No. 33, 1.2, p. 222.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30.
91. Petersburg., s.v., p. 153 *MW.*, p. 467.
92. Cf. *IEG.*, p. 81.
93. *Antiquities*, No. 15, 1.7, p. 166.
94. *Ibid.*
95. *Ibid.*, 1.8; No. 26, 1.9, p. 199.
96. *Ibid.*, No. 25, 1.14, p. 193.
97. *Ibid.*, No. 15, 1.14, p. 193.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Ibid.*, 1.7.
100. *Ibid.*, 1.8.

101. *Ibid.*
102. *Ibid.*, No. 25, 1.14, p. 193; No. 26, 1.8, p. 199.
103. *Ibid.*
104. *Ibid.* No. 15, 1.9, p. 166; No. 25, 1.14, p. 193; No. 26, 1.8, p. 199.
105. Fleet, *CII.*, Vol. III, p. 16 n.
106. *El.*, Vol. X, p. 50, fn. 2.
107. *Proceedings of the 6th Oriental Conference*, p. 211.
108. *CII.*, Vol. III, No. 1, 1.32, p. 10.
109. *El.*, Vol. X, No. 15, 11.7-8, p. 72.
110. *Proceedings of the 6th Oriental Conference*, p. 212.
111. *IEG.*, p. 300.
112. Quoted by B.C. Sen, *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, p. 309.
113. *Ibid.*
114. *IEG.*, p. 300. Sircar's explanation is evidently based on the mention of the term *Sāramgha* in the Hatun inscription of Paṭoladeva, *El.*, XXX, p. 228, which Dr. N.P. Chakravarti (*Ibid.*) takes to be of non-Sanskrit origin and connects with Persian *Sar-hang*, meaning 'Head of the army of gathering'.
115. Fns. 93-94, *Supra*.
116. Vogel feels inclined to regard *Khaṇḍarakṣa* as a corruption, under vernacular influence, of *Khaḍgarakṣa* which he considers to be the correct form, *Antiquities*, p. 129.
117. *MW.*, p. 336.
118. *History of Dharmaśāstra.*, III, p. 993. *MW.*, p. 767; *IEG.*, p. 55. The term also occurs in the Mitākṣara on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, I. 320, in *El.*, IX, p. 298; also cf. *CII.*, IV, pp. cxxxiv-xxxv.
119. *Antiquities*, p. 124.
120. *CII.*, III, pp. 289 and 291.
121. *Antiquities*, p. 128.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
123. *CII.*, III, No. 38, p. 164.
124. *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 167 and XV, p. 306.
125. *Āyuktaka* is mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, II, 3.40 and according to V.S. Agrawal, it is a general term for Government servants engaged in routine work, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 408. In the Allahabad pillar inscription (*CII.*, III, 1) we find mention of *Āyukta-puruṣas* who were entrusted with the task of restoring the wealth of the kings conquered by the Emperor (*op. cit.*, p. 8). *Āyuktas* are connected with the *Yuktas* of the *Arthaśāstra* II, 15 and *Yutas* of Aśokan inscriptions and explained as subordinate officials, Cf. E.W. Thomas, *JRAS.* (1909) pp. 466-67; (1914), 387-91.
126. In Sanskrit *ni+yuj* means 'to employ'. So *niyukta* would mean 'employed, appointed'. Cf. Junagar rockinscription of Skandagupta, *CII.*, III, No. 14, p. 59 for *niyuj* used in the sense of 'to appoint, to commission'. The term *niyukta* also occurs in the

Aṣṭādhyāyī. IV, 4,69 and according to V.S. Agrawal it was the title given to *Āyuktas*, when they were assigned special jobs, *op. cit.*

127. *EL*, XXII, p. 99, text lines 2-4.

128. Analogous to *Navakarmapati* referred to above we find the mention of *Karmapati* in the Dacchan inscription of Anantadeva (Deambi' *op. cit.*, p. 150) where Mahima the official who designed the bridge is mentioned with the designation *Karmapati*. Both the terms probably denoting the same official may be equated with the *Novakramika* of the Buddhist texts (*Cf.* Chula-Vagga VI. 17) denoting building over seer in charge of the building operations in a *Vihāra*.

129. Deambi, *op. cit.*, p. 122, No. 9, 1.3.

130. Cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 273, *CII*, IV pp. cxxxiii, cxxxv.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

The Śāradā inscriptions being mostly dedicatory in character throw welcome light on the religious conditions of the regions represented by them. Those from Kashmir furnish evidence of the equal popularity of Brāhmaṇical Hinduism and Buddhism and the flourishing of the two faiths side by side, a characteristic feature of the religious history of Kashmir from times immemorial. They also bear testimony to the fact that when Buddhism was on decline in other parts of the country it was still a force to reckon with in the valley in the early medieval period. The predominant faith in Gandhāra, Chamba and Kangra was a sort of polytheism but the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu and their pantheons was far more predominant than that of other deities. The worship of Vedic deities like Varuṇa was more popular in the remote areas of Chamba while Jainism did have some followers in Kangra in the 13th century. With these a few introductory remarks we proceed to consider the state of religion as reflected in our records.

I. BUDDHISM

Kashmir

The origin of Buddhism in Kashmir is veiled in obscurity. Buddhist sources, however, are unanimous in attributing the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir to Majjhantika, a monk of Vārāṇasī and a disciple of Ānanda. According to Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamśa*, Moggliputta Tissa, the spiritual guide of King Aśoka after the conclusion of the Third Buddhist

Council sent missionaries to different countries to propagate Buddhism. A Buddhist savant Majjhantika was deputed to Kashmir and Gandhāra.¹ The story of the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir by Majjhantika is told in several other Buddhist texts like the Tibetan *Dul-va*, *Aśokāvadāna*, *Avadāna-kalpalatā* and the travel account left by Hiuen Tsiang.²

According to the Buddhist text *Divyāvadāna*,³ however, several monks of Tāmasavana in Kashmir were invited by Aśoka to attend the third Buddhist Council at Pāṭliputra. Again Kalhaṇa describes the establishment of several *viḥāras* in Kashmir during the reign of King Surendra, the predecessor of Aśoka.³ If the traditions preserved in the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* be true it would appear that the Buddhist faith had already been introduced in Kashmir before the time of Majjhantika and Aśoka. However, though introduced earlier Buddhism must have gained a firm footing in Kashmir only under the spiritual leadership of Majjhantika and the benign patronage of Aśoka during the third century B.C.

Aśoka whose sway extended to Kashmir as well, is described by Kalhaṇa as a king of Kashmir and the follower of Jina, i.e. Buddha and is credited by him with the establishment of several *stūpas* and *viḥāras* in the valley.⁵ Thus he is credited with the building of a *chaitya* of amasing height in the town of Vitastātra (modern Vethavotur).⁶ Hiucen Tsiang also noticed four *stūpas* in the valley containing a portion of the relics of the Buddha which according to him were set up by Aśoka.⁷ The famous Tibetan historian Tārānātha speaks of King Aśoka as having bestowed lavish gifts on several Buddhist *Samghas* of Kashmir.⁸

The next landmark in the history of Buddhism in Kashmir is formed by the famous Buddhist treatise *Milindapañha* which records the discussion on important Buddhist topics between the Indo-Greek King Menānder or Milinda and the *Arhat* Nāgasena. The venue of the discussion is said to have been a spot only twelve *yojanas* from Kashmir.⁹ The author of this famous treatise refers to his intimate knowledge with Kashmir and surrounding regions and appears to be fairly familiar with the people of this region. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence attests to the professing of Buddhist faith by the

Indo-Greek rulers who after the fall of the Maurya empire established their sway over whole of the north-western India. As evidenced by the recent excavations at Semthan (Kashmir), Kashmir also appears to have come under the influence of Indo-Greek kings under whose patronage Buddhism must have flourished in the valley.

Buddhism rose to the pinnacle of its glory in the valley during the reign of the Kuṣāṇa King Kaṇiṣka and his successors. "During the powerful reign of these Kings", remarks Kalhaṇa, "the land of Kashmir was, to a great extent, in the possession of the Baudhas, who by practising the law of religious mendicancy (*pravarājya*) had acquired great renown."¹⁰ Kalhaṇa also attributes the wide popularity of the Buddhist faith in the valley during this period to the great Buddhist savant Nāgārjuna who resided at *Ṣaḍarhadvāna* modern Harwan.¹¹ According to one account it was during the reign of Kaṇiṣka that the Fourth Buddhist Council was convened in the valley to prepare an authentic version of the doctrine.¹² As a result of the deliberations of this council commentaries were written on the disputed passages of Buddhist scriptures and these came to be known as the *Upadeśa* and the *Vibhāṣā Śāstras*. The former were explanatory commentaries on the *Sutta* and *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the latter expository treatises on *Abhidhamma* or *Abhidharma* written from the point of view of the Sarvāstivādins who had by now made Kashmir the principle centre of their activity. This council gave a great boost to the Buddhist literary activity in the valley and in the subsequent centuries Kashmir became a centre of Buddhist learning and scholarship and produced a galaxy of Buddhist philosophers who not only gave a new shape to the Buddhist order making it more attractive for the common masses but also successfully withstood the challenges posed by the wide upsurge of the rival Brāhmaṇical faiths. The texts and commentaries written by them became so popular that Buddhist scholars from distant parts of the country and abroad rushed to the valley to study the same in the famous *vihāras* established by the royal and individual donors. Another notable contribution of these Buddhist savants of Kashmir was the formulation of the Buddhist canon

in Sanskrit. This canon is now unfortunately lost and is preserved only in parts in the *Gilgit Manuscripts* and in Chinese and Tibetan translations. The Buddhist philosophers of Kashmir unlike those of other faiths did not remain content with the expounding of the gospel of the Buddha in the valley alone but sent well trained missionaries to disseminate the faith in the neighbouring countries of Central Asia, Tibet and China.¹³

A fairly trustworthy account of the condition of Buddhism in Kashmir from the 7th century onward is furnished by the travel accounts of the Chinese travellers Hiuen Tsiang and O'kong, the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, archaeological discoveries, epigraphic records and other literary documents.

Hiuen Tsiang visited Kashmir in A.D. 631. He saw in the valley about one hundred *saṅghārāmas* and five thousand Buddhist priests.¹⁴ The account of Yuang Chwang leaves no doubt in mind that Kashmir at the time of his visit was a flourishing centre of Buddhist learning and there were several distinguished Buddhist *Ācāryas* in the valley who not only commanded mastery over the *Vibhāṣā* and the *Upadeśa Śāstras* but also continued composing Buddhist texts on valuable subjects with unabated zeal and enthusiasm. Admiring the contents of these literary texts Hiuen Tsiang remarks that in those there was evidence of great study and research. In them could be found an extraordinary insight into the Buddhist lore of various kinds and also into the Brāhmaṇical learning, Indian alphabets and the Vedas and their *Aṅgas*.¹⁵

The discovery of Buddhist manuscripts from a *stūpa* in Gilgit is an important landmark in the history of Buddhism in Kashmir. On paleographic grounds these manuscripts written in the so called post Gupta alphabet may be assigned to the seventh century A.D.¹⁶ The records bear testimony to the fact that the flourishing state of Buddhism in the 7th century was not confined to the valley alone but the predominance of Buddhism could also be noticed in the distant north of Kashmir.

O'kong also known as Dharmadhātu reached Kashmir via Kabul and Kandhar in A.D. 759. He stayed in Kashmir for four years and studied Sanskrit and *Vinaya* texts from the celebrated Buddhist teachers. He noticed more than three

hundred *vihāras* in the valley and a large number of *stūpas* and images.¹⁷

The rulers of the Kārkoṭa dynasty of Kashmir, who ruled in the 8th century, though staunch followers of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava faiths were also favourably disposed towards the Buddhist religion. They founded Buddhist institutions and endowed them with lavish grants. The celebrated Kārkoṭa ruler Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa founded one *Rājavihāra* with a large quadrangle and a large *Caitya* at Parihāsapura (modern Paraspor).¹⁸ He also built another *vihāra* with a *stūpa* at Huṣkapura near Baramulla.¹⁹ A huge copper image of Buddha built by him is said to have been so high as almost touching the sky.²⁰ Another celebrated ruler of the Kārkoṭa dynasty Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya embellished his newly founded town Jayapura with three images of the Buddha and a large *Vihāra*.²¹ The flourishing condition of Buddhism during the rule of Kārkoṭas is also evidenced by archaeological excavations carried out at Parihāsapura and other places which have brought to light several *stūpas* *vihāras*, *caityas* and Buddhist images.²²

The wide popularity and the great fillip that Buddhism received under the benign patronage of the piously disposed Kārkoṭa rulers led to the incorporation in the Brāhmaṇic Hinduism of Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu as is evidenced by the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* (8th century) and the *Daśavatāra-carita* (11th century). The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* which contains a comprehensive account of the Brāhmaṇic rites and rituals observed in Kashmir from times immemorial not only mentions Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu but enlists the Buddha's birthday as an important festival and lays down the details of the procedure in which the birthday of the Master was to be celebrated.²³

Reference has been made above to the Buddhist *Ācāryas* who by their erudition and scholarship made Kashmir a cradle of Buddhist learning for several centuries. It will not be out of place to give a brief account of a few of these pious savants who preached and propagated the Buddhist learning in the valley attracting a large number of adherents and disseminated and expounded the faith in the neighbouring countries of Central Asia, China and Tibet.

The Ācāryas mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang are Saṅghabhadra, the author of *Nyāyānusāra śāstra*, Skhandhila who wrote *Vibhāṣā-Prakaraṇa-Pāda-Śāstra*, Pūrṇa who composed a commentary on *Vibhāṣā Śāstra*, Bodhila who composed the treatise called *Tatva-saṅcaya-śāstra*, Gunaprabhā a great authority on the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and author of several works and Vimalamitra an adherent of the Sārsvata (i.e. Sarvāstivāda) school having made a profound study of canonical and heterodox scriptures, and Bandhudatta who taught the famous Buddhist scholar Kumārajīva. Among other distinguished Ācāryas who studied, taught and wrote in Kashmir mention may be made of Kātyayanīputra, Vasubandhu, Aśvaghoṣa, Vasumitra, Nāgārjuna, Sarvajñamitra, Dharmatrāta, Jinabandhu, etc.

A number of Buddhist scholars after receiving education in Kashmir went to Central Asia and China and were responsible for not only introducing the Kashmirian Buddhist texts but also translating the same and other canonical Buddhist texts into Chinese and Central Asian languages. Among these mention may be made of Kumārajīva, Saṅghbhūti, Gautama-saṅgha, Punyatrāta, Dharmayaśas, Buddhayaśas, Vimalākṣa, Buddhajīva, Dharmamitra, Lokakṣema, Pārthian Anslickao and Sogdian Rang Seng Hui. A noted Buddhist scholar of Kashmir Guṇavarman converted the whole of Java and the neighbouring islands to Buddhist faith and Thumi Sambhota introduced the same in Tibet.

In the following centuries Buddhism in Kashmir was overshadowed by the wide upsurge of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva faiths. However, in spite of the overwhelming predominance of Bhāhmaṇic faith and the loss of the royal patronage, Buddhism continued to flourish even as late as the 13th century. This is supported by the epigraphic evidence furnished by our records.

An inscription of the reign of queen Diddā preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar records the gift of a fine bronze image of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇī in the (*Laukika*) year 65 or A.D. 989 by Rājānaka Bhīma, a devout Buddhist.²⁴ Another inscription of probably the same or somewhat later period incised on the back of a brass image of the Buddha contains

the famous Buddhist creed *ye dharma hetu prabhavā*, etc.²⁵ The Arigom stone slab inscription of A.D. 1197 records the construction of a new shrine of burnt bricks by a devout Buddhist Rāmadeva for the installation of an image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, the earlier one made of wood and constructed by a physician Ullhadeva having been burnt by king Simha.²⁶ The king Simha is identical with king Jayasimha (A.D. 1128-1155) who curiously enough is represented by Kalhaṇa as a great patron of Buddhism who ordered the construction of new *vihāras* and renovation of old ones, completed the construction of *Śūla Vihāra* started by his uncle Uccala and granted large endowments to the Buddhist institutions founded by his relatives and officers.²⁷ Kalhaṇa alludes to the burning of Hāḍigrāma modern Arigom, the stronghold of Jayasimha's enemies, by the latter's powerful minister Sujji.²⁸ It appears that the wooden shrine referred to in the inscription was burnt along with the village itself and there was no deliberate attempt on the part of Jayasimha to burn the shrine as stated in the inscription. In this record Avalokiteśvara, the famous Budhisattva, is described as 'the Lord of the world who has become a light to the three worlds, who is a moon of delight to the world and who cuts asunder the bonds of the world'.

To the same or somewhat earlier period belongs the Dras (district Kargil, Ladakh) pillar inscription which records the installation of the statue of Maitreya by Ārya Tharanya-kula, a horseman.²⁹

As is well known the concept of Bodhisattva was first introduced in the Buddhist faith by the Mahāyāna school. The epigraphs, referred to above, would show that Mahāyāna form of Buddhism was a popular faith in the valley in the 10th and the subsequent centuries and the worship of the Bodhisattvas was prevalent. This is particularly significant since Kashmir had remained for long a great stronghold of the Sarvāstivādins and the Vaibhāśikas.

It is not known when Mahāyāna first gained a footing in Kashmir. Its existence in the periods preceding our records is, however, proved by the discovery of a large number of

Bodhisattva images from Pāraspor (ancient Parihāsapura) and Pandrethan and by the testimony of Hiuen Tsiang who noticed in the capital a monastery which was centre of Mahāyāna philosophy and saw a huge image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara devoutly worshipped by the earnest believers.³⁰

The predominant Brāhmaṇic faith appears to have exercised great influence on the contemporary Buddhist religion. An evidence to this effect is furnished by the image of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇī, referred to above, which represents the Bodhisattva as wearing a sacred thread in the fashion of the Brāhmaṇas. Conversely the native Śaivism appears to have been deeply impressed by the Buddhist theories of *Kṣaṇika-vāda*, *Śūnyavāda* and *Sahajavāda* while the iconography of the Svacchanda-Bhairava betrays affinities with Tantrik symbolism of the Buddhists.³¹

As in other parts of the country, in Kashmir too, Buddhism soon lost its pristine glory and could not but succumb to the powerful wave of the Tantrik worship that swept the more popular Brāhmaṇical faiths. Our records from Vejebror dated (Śaka) 58 or A.D. 1236 belonging to the reign of Rājadeva (A.D. 1213 to A.D. 1236) shows that the Tantrik form of Buddhism was popular in the valley in the 13th century.³² The epigraph records the consecration of a *maṇḍalaka* in honour of lord Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara by Ācārya Kamalaśriya. The *maṇḍalaka* appears to be the same as *maṇḍala* or mystical circle drawing of which along with *mudrā* or finger poses, *mantra* or recitation of mystical spells, *kriyas* or rites and *caryā* or worship of Tantrik deities was considered means of attaining *siddhi* or spiritual perfection by the Tantrik Buddhists. The donor Ācārya Kamalaśriya appears to have been some Tantrik teacher. The stone on which our inscription is incised bears on the top a round disc. It seems that this mystical disc represents the *maṇḍalaka* of our inscription the consecration of which in honour of Lord Avalokiteśvara, the famous Bodhisattva and a favourite deity of Tantrik Buddhists was regarded as means of earning religious merit by the Tantrik Buddhists of Kashmlr.

Gandhāra

Our records from Gandhāra do not throw any light on the state of Buddhism in this region during the periods represented by them. Gandhāra, as is well known, remained a flourishing seat of Buddhism for a long period, since the time, this faith was first introduced there by Madhyantika in 300 B.C.³³

Chamba and Kangra

Both Chamba and Kangra seem to have formed part of the empires of Aśoka and Kaṇiṣka and Buddhism must have enjoyed popularity in these territories during the rule of the two Buddhist patrons. Owing to the paucity of material it is not possible to give a connected account of Buddhism in these regions in the subsequent periods.

The discovery of the Buddhist antiquarian remains consisting of the *stūpas*, images and inscriptions at Chari, Chodru and Fatehpur have revealed the popularity of Buddhist faith in Kangra in the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D.³⁴ The archaeological evidence is supported by the testimony of Hiuen Tsiang who saw in the kingdom of Jālandhara, of which Kangra formed a part, as many as 50 monasteries with 2000 monks.³⁵

It is not clear if Buddhism enjoyed popularity in Chamba and Kangra during the periods represented by our records. The inscriptions discovered so far do not furnish any information on this point. But that the other heterodox sect, viz., the Jainism had some followers in Kangra in the 13th century is indicated by the Kangra Bazar inscription which records the installation of an image of the Jain Tirthāṅkara Pārśvanātha, by two brothers Kuṇḍalaka and Kumāra (?), who were "devoted to the law, taught by the Jina", (*Jaina-dharma-parāyaṇau*).³⁶

II. ŚAIVISM

Gandhāra

The cult of Śiva in Gandhāra dates back to the remote antiquity when its popularity among the non-Ayansr in pre-

Vedic period is attested to by the archaeological finds in the Sindhu Valley consisting of the prototypes of Śiva as Paśupati and his emblem the Śiva-liṅga. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to the popularity of the worship of Bhava, a name of Śiva, among the *Bāhlikas* who lived in the present region of Balkh in Afghanistan and the adjoining Gandhāra.³⁷ In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇinī (who hailed from Gandhāra) occurs the *sūtra Śivādibhyo'n* (IV. 1.112) meaning that an affix *an* comes in the sense of a descendant after the name Śiva etc. The early Greek writers like Strabo refer to the tribes of the Panjab and Gandhāra like *Siboi* and *Oxydrakai* as regarding themselves the descendants of Śiva.³⁸ Megasthenes the Greek ambassador in the court of Chandragupta Maurya (about 300 B.C.) refers to the popularity of the worship of God Dionysios identified with Śiva in the hill regions of northern India which may have included Gandhāra as well.

The evidence of the popularity of the cult of Śiva in Gandhāra in the centuries preceding the christian era is furnished by the early Indian coins hailing from Taxila which contain the theriomorphic and anthropomorphic figures of Śiva.³⁹ Some coins of the Indo-Greek king Demetrius who ruled in Gandhāra about 200 B.C. bear the figure of Śiva's emblem, the trident on the reverse.⁴⁰

Despite the predominance of Buddhism in the region in the centuries following the christian era and the patronage extended to it by the Kuṣāṇa rulers Śaivism continued to be a popular faith as is indicated by the coins of the Kuṣāṇa rulers Kadaphises II, Kaṇiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva which contain the figures of Śiva and of his emblems like the trident and the sacred bull.

In the post-Kuṣāṇa period Śaivism appears to have flourished in Gandhāra under the patronage of the Sassanian rulers. A Kuṣāṇo-Sassanian gold coin issued under the sovereignty of Shahpur I (A.D. 256-264) bears the figure of Śiva in the Sassanian dress standing before the bull Nandi.⁴¹ To the same period belongs an image of Śiva discovered from Charsada in Peshawar district depicting Śiva with three eyes, three heads and six arms standing before the bull Nandi.⁴²

The two principal sects of Śaivism, the Pāśupata and the Kāpālīka are mentioned by Vasubandhu (who hailed from Peshawar) in the commentary of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, a famous Buddhist text of A.D. 4th century.⁴³ Another Buddhist text of the same period the *Mahāmāyūrī* mentions Śiva as the presiding deity of Śivapura identified with *Udīcyāgrāma* of the *Mahābhāṣya*⁴⁴ and the Siboi country in Gandhāra mentioned by the classical writers.

Śaivism must have enjoyed considerable popularity in Gandhāra during the rule of the Huṇa King Mihirakula who though a great persecutor of the Buddhist institutions was an ardent devotee of Śiva.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang while giving an account of the Buddhist shrines of Gandhāra also makes mention of two principal shrines connected with the Śaiva cult.⁴⁵ One of these was the shrine of Bhīmādevī, consort of Śiva, situated on the top of a high mountain about 50 li or so to the north-east of Polusha, modern Shahbazgarhi and the other a temple dedicated to Maheśvaradeva situated at the foot of the mountain. The Chinese pilgrim describes the two shrines as "great resorts of devotees from all parts of India". The two shrines appear to have had a long history and the account of Hiuen Tsiang bears testimony to the continued flourishing state of Śaivism in Gandhāra in the 7th century.

Śaivism appears to have received a great phillip under the patronage of the Hindu Śāhī rulers of Gandhāra. The coins of Sāmanta and Sapalapatideva bear the figures of Śiva's emblem, the *triśūla* the trident and his *vāhana* the bull.⁴⁶

That Śaivism was a flourishing faith in Gandhāra in the 10th century is indicated by our record from Hund belonging to the reign of Jayapāladeva.⁴⁷ It begins with an invocation of Śiva called Bhūtanātha and refers to his third eye which 'owing to the burning of Kāma is a source of terror to his enemies even to-day'. It records the consecration of a temple dedicated to god Umānātha, Lord of Umā, i.e. Śiva by certain Caṅgulavarman, son of Paṅgula at *Udabhāṇḍapura* modern Hund, the capital of the Hindu Śāhī kings. Our another inscription from Hund belonging to the same period records the construction of a temple by Mahārājñī Kāmeśvarīdevī⁴⁸

but whether the temple was dedicated to god Śiva or Viṣṇu is not indicated in the record. The inscription contains no *maṅgala* in the beginning.

Kashmir

The worship of Śiva appears to have been popular in Kashmir from a pretty remote period. Its popularity in the pre-Aśokan days is attested to by the evidence of Kalhaṇa who refers to an old Śiva temple of Vijyeśvara which was renovated by the Maurya King Aśoka.⁴⁹ Aśoka, though a Buddhist, extended his patronage to Śaivism in Kashmir and founded two Śiva temples, both named after his own name as Aśokaśvara.⁵⁰ His son Jalauka was an ardent devotee of Śiva and built two shrines of Śiva, named Jyeṣṭharudra and Bhūteśa at Śrīnagarī and Nandikṣetra, respectively.⁵¹ Dāmodrara II, the successor of Jalauka was according to Kalhaṇa, 'a crest jewel of the worshippers of Śiva'.⁵²

The cult of Śiva continued to flourish in the subsequent periods and in the c. 4th century A.D. it was patronised by King Siddha, who himself was a devout worshipper of Śiva and who passed his time in constant meditation of Śiva.⁵³

In the 6th century, Śaivism flourished under the patronage of the Huṇa King Mihirkula who though evilminded⁵⁴ and persecutor of Buddhist institutions,⁵⁵ patronised Śaivism in Kashmir and founded a Śiva temple of Mihireśvara at Śrīnagarī.⁵⁶

With the accession of the Kārkoṭas in the 7th century, Śaivism came to enjoy a very wide popularity in the Valley. The illustrious Kārkoṭa ruler Lalitāditya was devout worshipper of Śiva. He founded the temple of Jyeṣṭharudra and granted lands and villages for its maintenance.⁵⁷ He also donated a large sum of money to the Śiva temple of Bhūteśa.⁵⁸ His mother, Narendraprabhā built a shrine of Narendreśvara,⁵⁹ while his minister Mitraśarman founded a Śiva temple of Mitreśvara.⁶⁰ The Śaivite propensities of the king were also shared by the common people who put up a large number of Śiva-lingas called *Rakṣaṭeśa*.⁶¹

In the 9th and 10th centuries during the rule of the kings of Utpala dynasty, Śaivism continued to enjoy popularity.

King Avantivarman, though himself a Vaiṣṇava founded the Śiva temple of Avantīśvara at his newly founded town Avantipura and had at the shrines of Tripureśvara, Bhūteśa and Vijayeśa three pedestals made with silver conduits.⁶³ His successor Śaṅkaravarman founded two temples of Śaṅkara-gaurīśa and Sugendheśa at the town of Śaṅkarapura founded by him.⁶⁴ A mammoth Śaiva kāvya of fifty cantos called *Haravijaya*, composed by Rājānaka Ratnākara, describing the defeat of demon Andhaka at the hands of Śiva belongs to this period.

In the following 11th and 12th centuries, the predominance of Śaivism continued unabated. Quite a large number of Śaiva shrines was consecrated by the rulers, their kinsmen and the ministers. King Saṁgrāmarāja increased his spiritual merit by restoring the famous Śiva temple of Rāmeśvara.⁶⁵ Queen Sūryamatī founded two Śiva shrines⁶⁶ and consecrated *Tri-śūlas*, *Bānalīṅgas* and other sacred emblems.⁶⁷ King Kalaśa was a staunch follower of Śiva. He renewed the stone temple of Vijayeśa⁶⁸ and built three Śiva temples adorning them with golden parosals.⁶⁹

During the rule of king Jayasimha in the 12th century, the shrines of Śiva were consecrated by the two ministers Rīlhaṇa⁷⁰ and Bhuṭṭa,⁷¹ by queen Rārḍhā (wife of Jayasimha)⁷² and by Maṅkha, the brother of *Samdhivigrahika* Alaṅkāra.⁷³ To the same period belongs the celebrated Kāvya of poet Maṅkha called *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* (composed between A.D. 1135-1145) which has the Purāṇic legend of Śiva's overthrow of Tripurā, as its theme.

In the 14th century, Śaivism enjoyed popularity under the patronage of king Simhadeva who was a great worshipper of Śiva and who caused Vijayeśvara to be bathed in milk, purchased with one lakh pieces of gold.⁷⁴

The cult of Śiva continued to flourish in 15th century during the rule of the Muhammdan king Zain-ul-Ābidīn. This is attested to by the epigraphic evidence furnished by one of our records. The stone inscription discovered from Khonamuh and belonging to the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Ābidīn, begins with an invocation of Śiva, praised as a Supreme spirit, and refers to a certain devotee of Śiva named Gammatisodaka who

engaged himself in meditation at a hermitage (*āśrama*) in Khonamuh, founded by a merchant named Pūrṇaka, and found his way to Śiva.⁷⁵

Śaiva Philosophy

In the A.D. 9th century when Śaiva faith was predominant in Kashmir, there appeared a new system of Śaiva philosophy in the Valley which came to be known as *Trikāśāsana* or *Trikāśāstra*. This system was a type of idealistic monism (*advaita*) and differed in fundamental principles from other forms of Śaiva thought, for instance from the Śaiva *darśana* of Mādhvācārya, as incorporated in his *Sarva-Darśana-Saṅgraha*.⁷⁶

The beginnings of this school are to be traced to the *Śivasūtras*, the authorship of which is attributed to Śiva himself and which are said to have been revealed to the sage Vasugupta who lived in the 9th century.

The chief exponents of this school were Kallaṭa and Somānanda, the two disciples of Vasugupta.

Kallaṭa was contemporary of Avantivarman.⁷⁷ He wrote *Spandasūtras* generally called *Spandakārikas* in which he first explained the *Śivasūtras*.

Somānanda provided the Advaita Śaivism of Kashmir with a philosophy of its own and laid the foundation of a branch of Trikā-darśana called *Pratibhijñāśāstra*. The doctrine of *Pratibhijñā* laid stress on recognition as the way for the perception of the identity with the Supreme Soul or the ultimate reality.

Somānanda was followed by the famous Kashmir philosopher Utpala who made a valuable contribution to the *Pratibhijñāśāstra* by writing a philosophic treatise called *Īśvara-pratibhijñā* in which he lucidly summarised the teachings of his master Somānanda.

The prolific writer Abhinavagupta, who flourished in the 11th century, wrote two philosophic commentaries on the *Īśvara-pratibhijñā* known as *Īśvarapratibhijñā-vimarśinī* and the *Īśvarapratibhijñāvivṛiti-vimarśinī*. He also composed other works on Śaiva doctrine which include *Parātrimśikā-vivaraṇa*,

Tantrāloka, *Tantrasāra*, *Parmārthasāra* and *Mālinī-vijaya-vārtika*.

In the subsequent centuries, the work of the earlier exponents of Śaiva doctrine was carried further by the philosophers like Kṣemarāja, Yogarāja, Jayaratha and Śivopādhyāya, the last of whom wrote a Śaiva treatise in as late as the 18th century.

A glimpse of the Śaivadarśana of Kashmir can be traced in the Khonamuh inscription referred to above where in the benedictory verse Śiva is described as universal soul who though selfless (*anātmā*) is the life of all beings (*Sarvabhūtātmā*) who has no attributes and is yet invested with them and who is exempt from the distinction of existent and non-existent (*sad-asad-vyakti-rahitaḥ*). The expression of the same thought we find in a number of passages in the Śaiva texts referred to above. Again the verse seven of the same record states that an ascetic Gammatisodaka by name having conquered Māra of powerful darkness seated in firm Padmāsana posture engaged himself in meditation desirous of attaining that state of imperishableness that knows no fall and in fullness of time he found his way to Śiva. In this verse we have a picture of a Śaiva-Sādhaka or Yogī as described in the several celebrated Śaivite texts of Kashmir.

Chamba

The cult of Śiva appears to be of ancient origin in Chamba though the earliest Śaiva foundations discovered so far date only from the time of king Meruvarman, who ruled in the end of the 7th or the beginning of the A.D. 8th century.⁷⁸

The wide popularity of Śaivism in this hill State in the 9th and the subsequent centuries is attested to by the evidence of our inscriptions.

The Sarahan *Praśasti* which on paleographic grounds can be assigned to the 9th century, records the construction of a Śiva temple by a certain chieftain Sātyakī.⁷⁹

The early rulers of Chamba were well disposed towards the worship of Śiva. The copper plate grant issued by king Yugākaravarman begins with an invocation to lord Hara or

Śiva.⁸⁰ His successor king Vidagdha describes himself as *Paramamāheśvara* or the supreme devotee of Śiva.⁸¹ King Somavarman who succeeded to the Chamba throne sometimes in the 11th century was also a great devotee of Śiva and he donated lands to a Śiva temple built by the queen mother Rārḍhā.⁸²

Śaivism continued to enjoy popularity in the 13th century when an image of Mahādeva was installed by two individuals Gangā and Kisanu at Harsara (ancient Aḍsara).⁸³

The wide prevalence of the worship of Śiva in Chamba in the 11th and the subsequent centuries is also testified by the evidence of number of carved fountain slabs which have been discovered from several places in this ancient hill State and which usually contain the figures of Śiva and of the other gods of Śaiva cult.⁸⁴

Kangra

The early history of Śaivism in Kangra is shrouded in mystery. The earliest Śiva temples discovered so far are the cave temples of Masur which on the basis of styles are assignable to the A.D. 8th century.⁸⁵ The early existence of the cult of Śiva in Kangra however, is indicated by the coins of Audambara chiefs which contain the figures of the shrine of Śiva and his emblems, the *triśūla* and *Nandi*.⁸⁶ The Audambara chiefs ruled over Kangra and Eastern Panjab in the early centuries of the christian era.

The predominance of the Śaiva faith in Kangra in the 13th century is attested to by the evidence of the Baijnath *Praśastis*.⁸⁷

The two *Praśastis* begin with an invocation of Śiva and his spouse Pārvatī. The first contains a long hymn or *stotra* in praise of Śiva and describes him as the supreme lord who is praised by Viṣṇu, Brahmā and other gods.⁸⁸ It refers to two merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka who out of great devotion to Śiva constructed a huge temple at Kīragrāma (modern Baijnath) to house a liṅga of Śiva called Vaidyanātha.⁸⁹

The *Praśastis* throw light on the Śaivite propensities of the members of the royal family and of the common people who made large number of donations to the Śiva temple.

The ruling chief Lakṣamaṇacandra allotted daily six *drammas* of money collected in the custom house⁹⁰ and his mother Lakṣaṇā granted one plough of land from her estates at Pralamba-grāma (modern Palampur).⁹¹ A Brāhmaṇa astrologer Ralhaṇa gave two *droṇas* of grain from his lands at Navagrāma⁹² while Gaṇeśvara, an inhabitant of Kīragrāma, donated half a plough of land to the Śiva temple.⁹³ A wealthy merchant Jivaka presented his own land for the courtyard of the shrine.⁹⁴ The builders of the temple, the two merchant brothers donated their oil mill to provide for the lamps of the temple,⁹⁵ a ship for the *bhoga* of Śiva and four ploughs of cultivated land.⁹⁶

III. VAIṢṆAVISM

Gandhāra

The worship of Viṣṇu was popular in Gandhāra as early as the 5th century B.C. in the time of the great grammarian Pāṇinī. Pāṇinī in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*⁹⁷ gives a rule for the formation of the word *Vāsudevaka* in the sense of "a person whose object of *bhakti* (devotion) is Vāsudeva." The term *Vāsudeva* is interpreted by Patañjali to stand for Vāsudeva-kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu."⁹⁸

The prevalence of Vaiṣṇava faith in the 2nd century B.C. is testified by the evidence of an inscription of a Greek ambassador Heliodorus in which he describes himself as a resident of Texila and a Bhāgavata or worshipper of Viṣṇu.⁹⁹

Vaiṣṇavism enjoyed popularity in the A.D. 2nd century under the patronage of the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka. Huviṣka, despite his leanings towards Buddhism was well disposed towards the Vaiṣṇava faith. Some of his coins bear figures of Viṣṇu and in a seal matrix attributed to him, he is represented as kneeling reverentially before Viṣṇu with his hands in *añjali* pose.¹⁰⁰

Vaiṣṇavism must have enjoyed considerable popularity during the reign of the Śāhī king Bhīmadeva (10th century) who assumed the title of *Gadāhasta* (weilder of mace, a popular appellation of Viṣṇu) as is indicated by our record from Dewai (Gandhāra) belonging to him.¹⁰¹

Owing to the paucity of material it is not possible to trace the history of Vaiṣṇavism in Gandhāra in the subsequent periods.

However, an inscription of the Laukika year 538 corresponding to A.D. 1461 which is preserved in the Peshawar museum and which records the construction of a tank by a certain individual Vaṇhadaka, begins with an invocation of Viṣṇu.¹⁰² The find spot of the inscription is not definitely known but it is said to hail from the Hazara district.¹⁰³ If this be true, this record which contains an eulogy of Viṣṇu, would furnish evidence of the popularity of the Viṣṇu worship in certain areas in Gandhāra even as late as the 15th century.

Kashmir

It is not known when Vaiṣṇavism was first introduced in Kashmir. Its popularity in the A.D. 6th century is however, attested to by the evidence of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, which refers to the foundation of the shrines of Viṣṇu by kings Ranāditya¹⁰⁴ and Pravarasena-II.¹⁰⁵

In the subsequent 7th and 8th centuries Vaiṣṇavism flourished in the Valley under the patronage of the Kārkoṭa rulers who were devout worshippers of Viṣṇu. Kalhaṇa refers to a large number of Viṣṇu temples and images that were consecrated during this period not only by the kings but also by their kinsmen and high ranking officers. Amongst these pious foundations mention may be made of the Viṣṇu temples and images consecrated after their own names, by king Dur-labhavardhana,¹⁰⁶ Candrāpīḍa,¹⁰⁷ Calitaka (city prefect of Candrāpīḍa),¹⁰⁸ Lalitāditya,¹⁰⁹ Kamalāvati (queen of Lalitāditya),¹¹⁰ Jayāpīḍa¹¹¹ and Amṛtaprabhā (mother of Jayāpīḍa).¹¹²

Vaiṣṇavism continued to be a popular religion in the 9th century during the rule of king Avantivarman who was great worshipper of Viṣṇu from his very childhood.¹¹³ He built a

Viṣṇu temple of Avantisvāmī¹¹⁴ and his famous irrigation minister Suyya founded a Viṣṇu shrine of Hṛṣīkeśa Yogaśāyin at the new confluence of the Sindhu and the Vitastā.¹¹⁵

The wide popularity of Vaiṣṇava faith in the 8th and the 9th centuries is also proved by the discovery of large number of Vaiṣṇava antiquarian remains consisting of busts and heads of Viṣṇu, relief sculptures of Caturbhuja Viṣṇu and his incarnations and four headed Viṣṇu images, at Bijbehara, Andarkot, Divsar, Avantipur,¹¹⁶ etc. and by the *Nilamatapurāṇa*.

Viṣṇu worship continued to flourish during the 10th and 11th centuries. Pretty large number of Viṣṇu temples was founded both by the rulers and their relatives. Queen Sugandhā built a Viṣṇu temple of Gopālakeśava¹¹⁷ while her daughter-in-law Nandā founded a Viṣṇu temple of Nandikeśava.¹¹⁸ The Śāhī king Bhīma, the maternal grand-father of queen Diddā built in the Capital a shrine of Bhīmakeśava,¹¹⁹ while the queen herself founded a series amongst which mention may be made of Abhimanyusvāmin built for the increase of the spiritual merit of her deceased son Abhimanyu,¹²⁰ Simhasvāmī erected after the name of her father Simgarāja¹²¹ and Diddāsvāmin which she founded after her own name.¹²²

The popularity of Viṣṇu worship in the Valley in the 10th and the following centuries is also attested to by the epigraphic evidence. The Srinagar stone inscription of the reign of queen Diddā, dated A.D. 992 mentions Kṛṣṇa under the name of *Narakabhid* (slayer of Naraka) and describes him as son of Devakī.¹²³ This would show that in the 10th century Viṣṇu was also worshipped in the Valley in the form of his incarnations. Again a large sized image of four armed Viṣṇu seated on his *Vāhana* garuḍa was unearthed at Bijbehara which bears on its pedestal the inscription, *tvam namāmi janārdanam*, "I worship thee Janārdana, i.e. Viṣṇu" in the Śāradā characters of the 11th and 12th centuries.¹²⁴

Chamba

The early history of Vaiṣṇavism in Chamba is shrouded in mystery. The worship of Viṣṇu appears to have been popular in the 9th century during the rule of king Śāhillavarman

who founded the temple of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa in his newly established capital.¹²⁵

Our epigraphic records furnish evidence of the flourishing condition of Vaiṣṇavism in the subsequent centuries under the patronage of the successors of Śāhillavarman who though staunch followers of Śaiva cult were well disposed towards the Vaiṣṇava faith.

Thus during the rule of king Yugākaravarman, a shrine of god Narsimha or the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu was founded by queen Tribhuvanarekhā, for which the king himself granted some lands.¹²⁶ This would indicate that in the A.D. 10th century Viṣṇu was also worshipped in Chamba in the form of his incarnations.

In the reign of the succeeding king Vidagdha, a Viṣṇu image of Thakkikasvāmī was installed by his feudatory chief Thakkika.¹²⁷

In the 11th century, Vaiṣṇavism flourished under the patronage of king Somavarman who was a *Paramavaiṣṇava* or a great devotee of Viṣṇu.¹²⁸ He donated lands to two temples of god Harī which were built by Lakṣmaṇavarman and the Mahārāja-putra Pāṣaṭa.¹²⁹

Vaiṣṇava faith continued to prevail in the 12th century during the rule of king Lalitavarman, in the 17th year of whose reign an image of Nārāyaṇa was put up by his feudatory Nāgapāla.¹³⁰ Similarly an image of Viṣṇu was installed probably in the same century, by certain Ukukana and named after his own name as Ukukanasvāmī.¹³¹ The image which still exists at the village Saho represents god Viṣṇu with three faces, the side ones being those of a lion and a boar apparently alluding to the Narsimha and Varāha incarnations of Viṣṇu. The image of Viṣṇu is accompanied by the figures of his ten incarnations amongst which the fish, the tortoise, Rāma, Buddha, Parśurāma and Kalki alone are discernible, others having got defaced.

This inscribed statuette would show that the worship of the Avatāras or the incarnations of Viṣṇu, of which we find an earlier evidence in the Yugākaravarman's grant, referred to above, continued to be popular in Chamba in the 12th century and constituted an important feature of the Vaiṣṇava cult in this region as in other parts of India.

The wide popularity of the worship of Viṣṇu and his incarnations in 10th, 11th and the 12th centuries is also testified by a large number of inscribed fountain slabs which have been discovered from various places in Chamba and which usually contain the figures of Viṣṇu and his incarnations along with those of the other deities.¹³²

Kangra

Our inscriptions from Kangra do not throw much light on the Viṣṇu worship in this area. The Baijnath *Praśasti* No. 1 only mentions the name of Viṣṇu and describes him as lower in status to that of Śiva. The popularity of the cult of Viṣṇu in Kangra in the 13th or somewhat later period is attested to by the inscribed brass statuette of Viṣṇu which has been discovered from Fatehpur in the Kangra District.¹³³

While, as seen above, Śiva and Viṣṇu were popularly worshipped gods in ancient Chamba and Kangra, the other god of the Hindu Trinity, viz. Brahmā, claimed equal popularity in ancient Chamba. He is invoked in the copper plate inscriptions as the Creator of the Universe, along with Śiva, the Destroyer and Viṣṇu, the Preserver,¹³⁴ and occupies prominent position in the fountain slabs along with Śiva, Viṣṇu and Varuṇa.¹³⁵ In the Baijnath *Praśasti* No. 1, he is mentioned once (1.27) and like Viṣṇu, described as lower in rank to that of Śiva.

IV. OTHER GODS AND GODDESSES

✓ Varuṇa

Besides Śiva and Viṣṇu, Varuṇa was a popular god in ancient Chamba. He figures prominently in the fountain slab inscriptions which have been discovered in large numbers from several parts of Chamba. The inscribed fountain slabs generally contain an image of god Varuṇa and in the inscriptions incised on them they are invariably designated after the name of the god, as Varuṇa-deva. The association of god Varuṇa with the water fountains would indicate that Varuṇa who held such a prominent position in the Vedic literature as the 'patron of

waters' continued to be regarded as the overlord of waters even so late a time as the period of our records, viz., A.D. 11th and 12th centuries.

In the *Rgveda*, though Varuṇa mainly figures as a god presiding over the moral order, he is also described as regulator of waters who made the rivers flow and which run unceasingly according to his commandments.¹³⁶ In the *Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda* also he figures as the overlord of waters.¹³⁷

In our inscriptions Varuṇa is described as a Supreme God who is "higher than any other god known in the three worlds."¹³⁸ The setting up of a water fountain in his honour is regarded as a means of acquiring highest religious merit and is considered to accrue the same merit as the gift of ten million cows on the occasion of lunar or solar eclipse.¹³⁹

The fountain slabs which are usually carved with figures of deities, represent Varuṇa as occupying a prominent place among them. He is usually represented as squatting on his *Vāhana Makara* (crocodile), sometimes with two and sometimes with four hands. Thus in the Siya fountain slab, he has two hands, holding a cobra in his right and a full blown lotus flower in his left hand. In the Salhi fountain slab he is represented as a deity with four hands provided with an elephant hook (*aṅkuśa*) and a lotus flower (*padma*) to the right and with a club (*gadā*) and a conch shell (*śaṅkha*) to the left. In the Sai fountain slab his four arms support a makara staff and a rosary on the right and the snake and a water vessel on the left.

Varuṇa's great popularity in Chamba as the god of waters during the period represented by our records, appears at first sight surprising especially when he was but little known in the neighbouring hill regions of Kashmir and Kangra. It appears that Chamba suffered from the scarcity of water especially in the far-flung areas of Curah and Pangri, where these fountain slabs exist in large numbers, and the fountains were set up at the steep hill slopes in order to ensure easy flow of drinkable water from the underground hill streams. They served the two-fold purpose. Besides being of general utility to the neighbouring population, they won the donor much cherished spiritual merit of highest order.

Among other gods and goddesses, who were worshipped in ancient Kashmir, Chamba and Kangra mention may be made of Bhavānī or Śiva's spouse, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya, and two river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

Bhavānī of whom we find the earliest mention in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*,¹⁴⁰ is mentioned in a few of our records and is described as an affectionate and ever devoted wife of Śiva,¹⁴¹ who saves men from the impending misfortunes.¹⁴² She is the mother of the world and her greatness has no limit.¹⁴³ She is compassionate and cuts the bonds of existence of those who worship her.¹⁴⁴ She is able to protect from delusion any one who complains of great pain caused by the concurrence of a crowd of misfortunes.¹⁴⁵ She is mentioned under various names in our inscriptions and the oft repeated ones are Gaurī, the resplendent, Śailjā, the daughter of the mount (Himālaya) and Mr̥ḍānī, the compassionate. The Baijnath *Prasasti* No. 1 contains a long hymn in which she is praised along with her consort Śiva and the various aspects of her character are clearly delineated. One of our inscriptions from Chamba records the erection of an image dedicated to her by certain individual Asaharaṇa.¹⁴⁶ The image represents her as a standing four-armed goddess with a trident in one of her right hands and a snake in one of her left hands and with a lion, the vehicle of the goddess resting at her feet.¹⁴⁷

Gaṇeśa, popularly known as the god who removes all obstacles, figures in the beginning of most of our epigraphs especially the copper plate charters, where an obeisance is paid to him. He is praised as a god who removes all impediments and by whose favour the whole calamity of a host of obstacles ceases. He is usually mentioned in our records under his two most popular names *Gaṇādhipati* or the lord of Gaṇas (who attend upon Śiva) and *Gajavaktra* or the elephant faced one. In the Koteher inscription, he is mentioned under his another popular name *Herambha* and here also he is praised as a god who swallows up all *vighnas* just as fire destroys in a moment the heaps of dry grass.¹⁴⁸

The worship of Kārttikeya or the god of war must have been extensively practised in our areas in ancient times. His early worship in Kashmir is attested to by the discovery of a

fine six-armed image of Kārttikeya or Skandha, which on account of its resemblance with the Gandhāra images of the Bodhisattvas may be ascribed to the A.D. 5th century.¹⁴⁹ According to the *Nilamatapurāṇa* a work of probably A.D. 8th century, the worship of Kārttikeya was performed on the 6th of Lunar Caitra every year to ensure the welfare and safety of the children of Kashmir.¹⁵⁰

One of our earliest records from Kashmir, viz. the Srinagar stone inscription of queen Diddā, mentions Kārttikeya under the name of Śaktidhara and describes him as the son of Jāhṇavī.¹⁵¹

The wide diffusion of the cult of Skanda in Chamba is attested to by the erection of images in his honour. Thus king Ḍoḍaka erected an image of his at Tur in the Basu Pargana.¹⁵² His figure is usually carved in the fountain slabs where he is represented as a six faced god seated on his vehicle, the peacock, with a trident and a rosary in his two right hands and another trident of different shape (evidently standing for a spear) and a bird in his two left hands. The early rulers of Chamba style themselves in their charters as *Paramabrahmaṇya*, which shows that besides Śiva and Viṣṇu, they were worshippers of Kārttikeya as well.

The worship of the sacred rivers the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā as goddesses was prevalent in Kashmir and Chamba in the A.D. 8th century. This is testified by the Martand temple in Kashmir built by Lalitāditya and by the Śiva temple at Brahmar in Chamba built by Meruvarman, both of which have carved on both sides of the entrance, the figures of the two river goddesses with their respective vehicles or *vāhanas*, the crocodile and the tortoise.¹⁵³ The continued worship of the twin river goddesses in Chamba in the 12th century is attested to by the Salhi fountain slab which was erected in A.D. 1170 and which bears the figures of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā with their vehicles and with their names (Gaṅga) and (Jamunā) (Yammunā) incised below them.

The worship of the sacred twin rivers appears to have been popular in ancient Kangra as well. Its prevalence in the 13th century in this region is attested to by the evidence of the Baijnath *Praśasti* No. 1 (1.25) which distinctly states that the

Śiva temple of Vaidyanātha, built at Kīragrāma (Bajinath) by merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka, had the figures of the river goddesses carved at the entrance.

V. RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES

An analysis of our records throws an interesting light on the religious tendencies of the age. People believed in the existence of world beyond death. They viewed the mundane world or *Samsāra* as a place of misery and sufferings and the next world or *paraloka* as an abode of eternal joy and bliss. They consecrated temples, built images of gods and set up fountain slabs to secure for themselves and for their relatives, mostly deceased, relief from the miseries of the mundane world and bliss in the world beyond.

Thus in Chamba a certain chieftain named Sātyakī built a Śiva temple to ensure "unshaken friendship between his spouse Somaparabhā and the mountain born goddess Durgā".¹⁵⁴ The two individuals Bhoja and Paripūrṇa and the two brothers Raṇasiha and Dhanasiha, fearing the sufferings of this world, erected fountain slabs in order to open the way to heaven, the former for themselves and the latter for his brother Canika.¹⁵⁵ Queen Balhā considering at every step the world of the living to be unstable, had a fountain set up for the sake of the bliss of her deceased lord (Rājānaka Nāgapāla).¹⁵⁶ Queen Delhā erected a fountain slab to attain the heaven of Śiva and Viṣṇu and for the sake of the joy of paradise.¹⁵⁷ The queen Kāmeśvarīdevī of the Hund inscription had perhaps the same object in view when she constructed a temple *devakula*.¹⁵⁸ A pious devotee of Śiva from Udabāṇḍapura (modern Hund) named Caṅgulavarman established a shrine of Śiva to produce by his own powers fame in the realm of Śitikanṭha (Śiva).¹⁵⁹ The two merchant brothers of Kīragrāma, named Manyuka and Āhuka built a massive Śiva temple and made large donations to it with a pious wish of never being born again in this world.¹⁶⁰

Grants of lands to temples and Brāhmaṇas was likewise, regarded an act of piety designed to seek relief from the sufferings of the world and to ensure permanent happiness

in the world beyond. The king Vidagdha of Chamba donated land to a Brāhmaṇa Nanduka in order to cross the ocean of existence, to increase his religious merit and secure bliss in the future world.¹⁶¹

The lands were usually donated on some auspicious occasion. The days of the lunar or solar eclipse or the hibernal solstice—*makara saṁkrānti* were generally regarded auspicious for this purpose. Thus, the donations of lands by Vidagdha and Somavarman were made on the occasions of hibernal solstice and the solar eclipse, respectively.¹⁶² The lands granted were honoured by all and their confiscation was considered a great sin. This perhaps is the reason that some donations of land have been preserved even now and the lands granted nearly a thousand years ago are still enjoyed by the descendants of the original donees.

People performed pilgrimages to the sacred tirthas of Kurukṣetra and Kedāra. Though performed mainly as a meritorious act they were also made with a view to propitiate the god Sun or Śiva and secure the fulfillment of desires through their favour. Thus Sāhillavarman performed a pilgrimage to Kurukṣetra with a view to propitiate god Bhāskara and seek progeny through his favour.¹⁶³ Strict vows were sometimes taken on such occasions. Thus when the ruling Chief Lakṣamaṇacandra of Kīragrāma made a pilgrimage to Kedāra, he took a solemn vow that "henceforth the wives of others shall be sisters for me."¹⁶⁴

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139. *Ibid.*, No. 23, p. 182; No. 29, p. 206; No. 36, p. 238; No. 41, p. 243, No. 43, p. 244.
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147. Another inscribed image of the goddess was discovered couple of years back from Chamba and is now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi. The image represents the goddess in her fierce form called Bhairavi. The same form of the goddess is beautifully illustrated in the two inscribed images belonging to the 8th century and discovered from Brahmor and Chattrahi. Chamba.
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CHAPTER V

SOCIAL LIFE

I. VARṆA SYSTEM

Our inscriptions do not throw much light on the castes and the orders as they existed in ancient Chamba, Kangra, Kashmir and Gandhāra. The copper plate inscriptions of Chamba which comparatively give more details than other records, only mention the names of the four castes but do not furnish details about all of them. It is only about the Brāhmaṇas that we get some detailed information.

The Brāhmaṇas occupied an honoured place in the social hierarchy in ancient Chamba. They received royal patronage in the form of land grants which bestowed on them several rights and privileges.¹ They were granted the ownership of grazing and pasture grounds, kitchen gardens, fruit trees, water courses, channels, the fallow and the cultivable lands which lay within the specified boundaries. The grants were free from all kinds of taxes. The subjects living in the granted area were to pay to the grantee the tax in cash and kind and bring to him every other tribute due to the king. The district and the local officers were ordered not to encamp at the house of the donee nor to demand from him milk, corn, fuel, chaff, furniture, etc. and not to cause vexation to his ploughmen, cowherds, maids and servants. The donations of lands given to them were considered as the means of acquiring religious merit and glory. Thus king Vidagdha granted lands to a Brāhmaṇa, named Nanduka for acquiring religious merit, for the increase of the glory of his parents and himself, for the sake of the bliss of the next world and in order to cross the ocean of existence.²

While the Brāhmaṇas were the recipients of royal charity, they also made gifts for works of public utility. Thus we hear of a Brāhmaṇa constructing a fountain of water at Dadvar.³

As in Chamba, so also in the adjoining hill tract of Kangra and in Kashmir the Brāhmaṇas were piously and charitably disposed. In the Baijnath *Praśastis*,⁴ we hear of two Brāhmaṇas making donations to a Śiva temple, erected by the merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka. While the former donated two *droṇas* of grain from his lands at *Navagrāma*,⁵ the latter contributed half a plough of land, from the lands he occupied at the same place.⁶ Again two Brāhmaṇas named Gagga and Manohara consecrated religious institutions at Tapar ancient *Pratāpapura* and Vejebror in Kashmir, respectively.⁷

The inscriptions from Chamba do not make it clear if Brāhmaṇas occupied high offices in the Government in ancient Chamba. Their continued holding of high offices in Kashmir in the 15th century is, however, attested to by a 15th century document where we hear of a Brāhmaṇa, named Chindaka holding the office of 'District Officer' (*deśādhipati*) in Khonamuh during the reign of king Zain-ul-Ābidīn (A.D. 1420-70).⁸ That Brāhmaṇas held offices in the civic bodies in ancient Gandhāra is indicated by the inscription of Kāmeśvarī Devī where we find a Brāhmaṇa named Pillaka holding an office of *Pañcakula* having probably the same status as modern *sarpanch*.⁹

The Brāhmaṇas in ancient Chamba were known, as in other parts of India, by their particular *śākhās* and *gotras*. Thus the recipients of king Vidagdha's and Somavarman's grants were of the *Vājasneyī Śākhā* and of *Kaśyapa gotra*,¹⁰ and that of king Āsaṭa's grant belonged to the *Kaśyapa gotra*.¹¹

In Kashmir Brāhmaṇas were then as now designated by the designations of *Paṇḍita* and *Bhaṭṭa*.¹²

In Gandhāra we find the existence of a distinct class of Brāhmaṇas called the *Sūryadvijas*.¹³ The term *Sūrya-dvija* is not known from any other source. D.R. Sahni quoting the opinions of Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar and Dr. N.P. Chakravarti suggests that the term may be taken in the sense of the *Maga* or *Śakadvīpī* Brāhmaṇas who were the priests of the Sun-god and are supposed to have sprung from the sun.¹⁴

Besides the Brāhmaṇas and the other three known castes, we find mention of such low castes as the Medas, the Āndhrakas, the Dhīvaras and the Caṇḍālas in a 10th century copper plate charter, issued by king Viḍagdhā of Chamba.¹⁵

The Medas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.¹⁶ According to the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha, they ate the flesh of dead cattle. Manu describes Meda as an offspring of a Viadehaka male and a Niṣāda woman, who dwelt outside the village and whose main business was to kill wild beasts.¹⁷

The Āndhrakas, according to Manu,¹⁸ were a mixed caste born of Vaidehaka father and Karavāra mother. The functions of the Āndhrakas were the same as those of the Medas.

The Dhīvaras according to Gautama¹⁹ were a *pratiloma* caste of Vaiśya male and Kṣatriya female. Their main business was to catch fish.

The Caṇḍālas are widely mentioned in Smṛti and Kāyīya literature and in such early works as *Taittīreya Brāhmaṇa*, *Chāndogya Upaniṣada*, *Bṛhatāraṇyaka Upaniṣada* and the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣada*²⁰ they are ranked with the dog and the boar. In Smṛti works, the Caṇḍālas are described as a mixed caste born of a Śūdra from a Brāhmaṇa woman.²¹ According to Manu, the Caṇḍālas were to live outside the village, use garments of dead bodies as their clothes and were to act as hangmen when the king so ordered.²²

The Caṇḍālas are also described by the Chinese traveller Fa-hien (A.D. 405-11). According to him they had to live outside and give notice of their approach when entering a town or a market place by striking a piece of wood so that others might not get polluted by their contact.²³ According to al-Bīrūnī, the business of the Caṇḍālas was to hang persons when they were sentenced to death by the judicial authority.²⁴

The Caṇḍālas are also mentioned by Kaṭhaṇa in his *Rājatarāṅginī*. According to him, though Caṇḍālas were booted down upon by the people²⁵ they also served as royal body-guards or as watchmen²⁶ and at times they were engaged by the selfish conspirators as agents for killing their political rivals.²⁷

The mention of these low castes in a 10th century document, referred to above, would show that they continued to form

part of the social community in ancient Chamba or more generally, of the Indian population even as late as the A.D. 10th century.

II. POSITION OF WOMEN

As regards the position of women in ancient Chamba, Kangra, Kashmir and Gandhāra, the information to be gleaned from our inscriptions is very scanty. While the records from Chamba and Kangra throw some light on the position and status of women in ancient Chamba and Kangra, those from Kashmir and Gandhāra refer to them only casually.

Women in ancient Chamba occupied an honoured position in society. They were the object of highest devotion and love of their husbands who often gave expression to their conjugal devotion by constructing fountains for the attainment of religious merit by their wives in the next world. Thus Rājānaka Goga feeling deeply afflicted at the passing away of his wife Sūryamatī had a cistern of clear water constructed to ensure bliss for her in the next world.²⁸ Similarly Rājānaka Devaprasāda erected a fountain for the attainment of heavenly bliss by his consort Mekhalā.²⁹ The husband's sincerity of love for his wife is also proved by the Sarahan *Prasasti* which records the erection of a Śiva temple by Sātyaki to perpetuate the memory of his spouse Somaprabhā.³⁰

The conjugal fidelity of Indian women is proverbial and we find women in ancient Chamba never failing in their duty to reciprocate the love and devotion of their husbands by building religious institutions and donating liberally for works of public utility for ensuring the heavenly bliss of their lords in the next world. Thus we hear of queen Rārḍhā having constructed a Śiva temple for the attainment of religious merit by her husband Sālākaravarman³¹ Another queen Balhā erected a fountain for the sake of the bliss of her lord in the next world.³²

The women of the age represented by our records, seem to have had a pious outlook and were charitably disposed. While many of them erected temples and water fountains in Chamba,³³ we have evidence of their dedication of religious institutions in Kashmir and Gandhāra as well. Thus we hear

of a certain Gaṅgādevī of Kashmir joining her four brothers in the consecration of an image of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇī.³⁴ Another pious lady of the valley solely proficient in the performance of religious acts had a sacrificial altar constructed at the village Wularhama.³⁵ Similarly queen Kāmesvarīdevī of Gandhāra erected a temple to increase her religious merit.³⁶

As regards the custom of Satī our records indicate that though it was in vogue, it was not universally practised. Thus Rājānaka Nāgapaḥa of Chamba at the death of his father prevented his mother from committing Satī.³⁷ Queen Rārdhā of Chamba and Lakṣaṇā of *Kīragrāma* survived their husbands Salākara-varman and Bilhaṇa, respectively.³⁸

Widows after the death of their husbands led a life of austerity and piety and took part in religious donations. Thus the widowed queen Balhā after being dissuaded from consigning herself to flames emaciated herself by prolonged fasting and increased her charity, her compassion to the poor and devotion to Kṛṣṇa.³⁹ The widowed queen Lakṣaṇā of *Kīragrāma* donated one plough of land to a Śiva temple.⁴⁰

There are indications that widows in Chamba and Kangra had right to property as is indicated by the references to possession of estates by the widowed queen Rārdhā of Chamba⁴¹ and Lakṣaṇā of *Kīragrāma*.⁴²

In certain parts of Kangra, the plight of women was miserable. Even their chastity was not secure at the hands of the feudal lords. For example, it is stated in the Baijuath *Praśastis* that the rulers thought the sovereignty over a town to yield its legitimate result only by the rape of the wives of their subjects.⁴³ There were noble exceptions too, as we learn that the ruling chief Lakṣamaṇa-candra of *Kīragrāma* took a vow after his pilgrimage to Keḍāranatha that thenceforth he would treat the wives of others as his own sisters.⁴⁴

While we have no evidence of women participating in the acts of Government in ancient Gandhāra, Chamba and Kangra, in Kashmir they not only took leading part in the political activities of the State but actually held the reins of government at times. They were efficient administrators and astute politicians. Thus queen Diddā guided the destinies of Kashmir for more than half a century, ably and with firmness, in very troubled times. It seems to be due to her political acumen,

power and essentially masculine traits of character that she is mentioned in the two epigraphic records of her reign with the masculine epithets of *deva* and *rājan*.⁴⁵

III. FOOD AND DRINKS

Among the popular foods and drinks we find mention of *dhānya* and *gokṣīra*. The former is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa⁴⁶ and in the Baijnath *Praśastis*,⁴⁷ and the latter in the Sungal copper plate grant of Vidagdha.⁴⁸

Dhānya of which we find the earliest mention in the *Rgveda*⁴⁹ denotes grain in general. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣada*⁵⁰ mentions as many as ten kinds of grain. However, in the hill regions of Kangra, Chamba and Kashmir *dhānya* usually denotes paddy.⁵¹

Gokṣīra means cows milk which from Vedic times has been a favourite diet of Indians and also a source of income for a villager.

It would thus seem that the staple food of people in ancient Chamba and Kangra was rice and that milk was a favourite drink in ancient Chamba as in other parts of India. That rice was also the staple food of people in ancient Kashmir is indicated by the frequent mention of *Dhānya* in the *Nīlamata-purāṇa*, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and several other literary works of the valley.

IV. HOUSES AND FURNITURE

Regarding houses, only one of our records from Kashmir, viz., the Arigom stone slab inscription of A.D. 1197 mentions wood (*Kāṣṭa*) and burnt bricks (*Pakveṣṭikā*) as building materials.⁵² Bricks as building material are known from the Vedic period when they were used in the construction of sacrificial altars. Our record, which describes the replacement of an old wooden structure by one of burnt bricks, would show that wood and bricks were used as building material in Kashmir in the 12th century.

As regards furniture, our records do not furnish any important information. The Sungal copper plate grant of

king Vidagdha of Chamba,⁵³ however, mentions three articles of furniture, viz., *Pīṭha*, *Pīṭhikā* and *Khaṭvā*.

The word *Pīṭha* of which we find the earliest mention in the *Gṛhya Sūtras*⁵⁴ is explained in the *Amarakośa*⁵⁵ as "seat" (*āsanam*, *upaveśanādhāraḥ*) made of metal, stone or wood. *Pīṭha* would thus indicate, a stool or a chair.

Pīṭhikā, which also occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,⁵⁶ is explained by Monier Williams as stool or a bench.⁵⁷ It is represented by modern *pīṭhī* in Punjabi, which denotes a smaller stool with wooden legs and with seat made of strings, cane or wooden planks.

Khaṭvā, which is mentioned in such early works as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*⁵⁸ *Mahābhārata*,⁵⁹ *Manusmṛti*,⁶⁰ etc., is explained in the lexicons as *Khāṭyate Kāṅkṣyate nidrārthibhiḥ*⁶¹ that which is sought by the persons going to sleep. In the *Amarakośa*⁶² it is described as synonym of *Paryāṅka*, *palyāṅka* meaning couch. It would thus denote a bedstead, a couch or a cot. The modern Hindi derivative of it, viz., *Khāṭ* means a cot.

It would thus appear that in the 10th century, the common articles of furniture that a villager possessed in Chamba were stool, bench or a smaller stool and cot all probably made of wood as that alone was the easily and the cheaply available material.

V. GENERAL LIFE

Our records which are generally dedicatory in character would give us an impression that people were by and large piously and charitably disposed. Not only did they consecrate religious institutions and images but also took part enthusiastically in the acts of public utility. It is heartening to see even people of the far flung areas of Churah and Pangri in Chamba and of Doda and Kishtwar in Jammu engaging themselves in the philanthropic activities. Thus while pious individuals constructed water fountains in water scarce areas of Churah and Pangri,⁶³ an individual named Mahima Gupta had a bridge constructed for public use in the remote village of Dacchan near Kishtwar in the Doda district of Jammu.⁶⁴

Another charitably disposed person whose name is unfortunately lost but who was the grandson of certain Suphalaka got a stable constructed in a remote mountain glen called Zaji-Nai near Wadwan in the Doda district for the protection of cattle which were usually sent as at present to the pastures in the mountains for grazing in summer.⁶⁵

There are indications that extremely affectionate and cordial relations existed among the brothers of a family. In Chamba, they often gave expression to their fraternal love by constructing fountains of water for the sake of the bliss of their deceased brothers. Thus two brothers Raṇasīha and Dhanasīha constructed a cistern of water at the village Siya in Chamba for the sake of the future bliss of their brother Canika.⁶⁶ Again four brothers named Phiri, Goga, Deva and Siha constructed a water cistern and set up a fountain slab for the sake of the bliss in the next world of their brother Tyāga.⁶⁷

REFERENCES

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- 6 2. *Ibid.*
- 7 3. *Ibid.*, No. 20, p. 177.
- 8 4. *El.* No. I, pp. 97 ff.
- 9 5. *Praśasti* No. 1, 27.
- 10 6. *Ibid.*, 1, 28.
- 7 7. Deambi, *Śāradā Inscriptions*, No. 4, p. 104; p. 106 see also No. 3, p. 101.
- 8 8. *Ibid.* 9. p. 122.
- 9 9. *El.* XXII, p. 99, See *Supra* Chapter III.
- 10 10. *Antiquities*, No. 15, p. 167, No. 14, p. 185.
- 11 11. *Ibid.*, No. 16, p. 199.
- 12 12. Deambi, *op. cit.*, No. 3, p. 102, No. 5, p. 106, No. 13, p. 132, No. 19, p. 143.
- 13 13. *El.* Vol. XXII, p. 98.
- 14 14. *Ibid.*
- 15 15. *op. cit.*
- 16 16. *Anuśāsana Parvan*, XXII, 22.
- 17 17. *Manu Smṛti*, X, 36.
- 18 18. *Ibid.* X, 36, 48.
- 19 19. *Gautama-Dharma-Sūtra*, IV. 17.

- 16 20. *Chāndogya Upaniṣada*, V. 10.7.
- 17 21. *Manusmṛti*, V. 131, X. 12, 16; XI. 175, etc., *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, I. 93.
- 18 22. *Ibid.*, X. 51, 56.
- 19 23. *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, Trans. Legge, p. 43.
- 20 24. *India*, Trans. Sachau, Vol. I, p. 102.
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- 22 26. *Ibid.*, IV. 516, VII. 309.
- 23 27. *Ibid.*, VIII. 304, 325, 1103.
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- 25 29. *Ibid.*, No. 22, p. 180.
- 26 30. *Ibid.*, No. 23, p. 157.
- 27 31. *Ibid.*, No. 25, p. 194.
- 28 32. *Ibid.*, No. 32, p. 212.
33. *Ibid.*, No. 14, p. 162; No. 33, p. 223.
34. Deambi, *op. cit.*, No. 1, p. 98.
35. *Ibid.* No. 20, p. 146.
36. *op. cit.*
- 29 37. *Antiquities*, No. 32, p. 211.
- 30 38. *Ibid.*, No. 25, p. 194, Baijnath *Praśasti*, No. II, 1.28.
- 31 39. *Ibid.*, No. 32, lines 10-12.
- 32 40. *op. cit.*
- 33 41. *op. cit.*
- 34 42. *op. cit.*
- 35 43. *op. cit.*, No. 1, 1.20.
- 36 44. *Ibid.*
45. *Supra.*
46. *op. cit.*
47. *op. cit.*
48. *op. cit.*
49. *RV.*, VIII. 97. 10.
50. *Br. Up.* VI. 3.22.
51. *Dhānya* is also mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and denotes paddy or rice, cf. Stein, Tr. *RT*, 1, 246 n. The modern Kashmiri derivative of *dhānya* is *dānya* which means paddy (unhusked rice). In Chamba and Kangra, *dhān* evidently derived from Sanskrit *dhānya* means paddy or rice.
52. Deambi *op. cit.*, No. 6, p. 109.
53. *op. cit.*
54. *Vaikhānasa Gṛhya, Sūtra*, 4.13, 10.11.
55. *Amarakośa*, II. 6. 138.
56. *Rāmāyaṇa*, V. 3. 153.
57. *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 629.
58. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, II. 1. 126.
59. *Mahābhārata*, V. 1474.
60. *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 357.
61. *Vācaspatyam*, p. 1421.

62. *Amarakoṣa*, II. 6. 138. *mañca-paryaṅka-palyaṅkaḥ khaṭvayā Samah*.

37 63. Deambi, Fountain Stone Inscriptions of Ancient Chamba, *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. VI, pp. 30 ff.

38 64. Deambi, *op. cit.*, p. 149, Kak, R.C. *Antiquities of Marev-wadwan*, p. 25.

39 65. Deambi, *op. cit.*, p. 152; Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

40 66. *Antiquities*, p. 221.

41 67. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Our records from Kashmir and Gandhāra limited in number and sketchy in character as they are do not furnish much information regarding the economic conditions obtaining in the two regions. Those from Chamba and Kangra on the other hand furnish interesting data regarding agriculture and other aspects of the regional economy and we discuss the same in detail below.

I. AGRICULTURE

Agriculture has been the principal means of livelihood of Indian people from early Vedic times to this day. Among the extant Śāradā inscriptions, it is, however, the copper plate inscriptions of Chamba alone which furnish an encouraging information of the land system as it prevailed in ancient Chamba during 10th, 11th and the 12th centuries.

Lands known by their Names

☞ In the first instance, we find that the lands in ancient Chamba were given proper names. Thus the two pieces of land donated by king Vidagdha bore the names *Serī* and *Lavāla*.¹ Besides the cultivated lands, the fields, kitchen gardens and the pasture grounds also bore special names. We find the mention of *Śabdabagga*, *Prāhabagga* and *Khanibagga* as the names of fields and *Puṣkarī* as the name of a pasture ground and *Yamalīkā* as the name of a kitchen garden.²

Types of Land

The two principal types of land were *khila*³ and *polācya*.⁴

Khila lands were the waste lands which were not under cultivation. The modern derivative of the term, viz., *khili* in Chamba denotes the same. The term *khila* occurs in such early works as *Atharvaveda*⁵ and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁶ and is explained in the *Amarakośa*⁷ as uncultivated land. The *Nāradaśmṛti*⁸ explains it as a tract of land which has not been under cultivation for three years.

Polācyā were the cultivated lands. The term same as medieval *polaj*⁹ is preserved in the modern Hindi word *polach* which means lands under constant cultivation. So far as cultivated lands were concerned, they must have been at least of two types—one used for the cultivation of rice and the other for the cultivation of wheat, maize, sugarcane and such other crops. The former is mentioned in the Brahmar copper plate grant as *kolhika*.¹⁰ Even today in Chamba an irrigated piece of land used for the cultivation of rice is called *kolhika*. The word *kolhika* is obviously derived from the vernacular *kohl* which is the corrupt form of Sanskrit *kulya* meaning a channel used for irrigation.

Besides the two named above, we find mention of a third type of land called *Upakhila*. This term as compared to *khila* would denote semi or partially waste land.

Ownership of Land

Before we discuss the question of ownership of land in ancient Chamba, it would be worthwhile to have a clear idea of what ownership in its legal sense implies.

The earlier authors of *Śmṛtis* make a clear distinction between ownership and possession. Thus Yājñavalkya states that the possession acquires validity when it is accompanied by a clear title (*āgamena viśuddhena*) and is not valid without the same.¹¹ According to Brhaspati possession becomes valid when it is accompanied with legitimate title (*sāgamah*).¹² Nārada whose view is more explicit states that where there is enjoyment but no title of any sort, a title is required in order to produce proprietary right. Mere possession is not sufficient to create proprietary right. A clear title having been established, possession acquires validity. But possession without a clear

title does not constitute evidence of ownership.¹³ The distinction between the two terms is made even in respect of terminology. Thus ownership is indicated by the pronoun *svam* and the abstract terms *svatva*, *svāmya*, *svāmitva*, etc. while possession is usually indicated by the verb '*bhuj*' (to enjoy) and its derivatives.

The authors of the great medieval Digests of the Sacred Law give clearer and more precise definitions of ownership. Thus according to Jimūtavāhana, the author of the *Dāyabhāga*, "ownership implies the quality in the object owned, of being used by the owner according to his pleasure".¹⁴ According to Mitramiśra ownership is an "attribute indicative of the quality in the object owned by being used according to pleasure".¹⁵

The essential qualities associated with ownership as referred to by Gautama¹⁶ and Manu¹⁷ are sale, gift and mortgage.

Thus it is clear from the definitions quoted above that ownership constitutes a proprietary right according to which the owner can use the object according to his will. He may put it on sale, give away as gift or make it over as mortgage. Possession, on the other hand, does not include any such right. Here it may be mentioned that the *Smṛtis* make it clear that like other objects, movable or immovable, land also can be owned. The *Smṛtis* and the *Arthaśāstra* also permit the sale, gift and mortgage of owned lands.

The copper plate grants of Chamba record grants of land of kings Yugākara-varman, Vidagdha, Soma-varman and Āsaṭa. In the grants of Yugākara-varman, Soma-varman and Āsaṭa, the names are mentioned of persons occupying the lands at the time of grants. From what has been said above about the ownership, it is clear that the kings held proprietary rights over the donated lands. The terms '*bhujyamāna*', '*satka*'¹⁸ and '*sthita*',¹⁹ in this connection would denote that these lands at the time of donations, were in the temporary possession of the named individuals.

Though on the basis of these few instances, it would be rash to suggest that the ownership of the entire soil in Chamba vested in the king, it would be far more reasonable to suggest that there did exist some royal fields in ancient Chamba which were owned by the rulers themselves and which were, at times,

given by them on lease to tenants.

That kings in ancient India owned lands as personal property is shown by the references to the royal farms in the *Arthaśāstra*.²⁰ Moreover, there is evidence of the existence of royal farms and allotments in the villages from the Maurya up to the Gupta period.

In the Baijnath *Prasastis*,²¹ we have evidence of the private ownership of land in ancient Kangra in the 13th century. Among a number of donations made to the Śiva temple of Vaidyanātha, they mention the following gifts made by private individuals.

1. Half a plough of land in Navagrāma, donated by Gaṇeśvara.²²
2. The self-owned land (*nija-bhuh*) presented by the merchant Jivaka for the courtyard of the temple.²³
3. Four ploughs of land in Navagrāma donated by the merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka, the builders of the Śiva temple.²⁴

These gifts of land evidently show that the land in Kangra in the 13th century was owned by the private individuals. We have also evidence of some tracts of land being owned by the queens. For example, we find that queen Lakṣaṇā, the mother of the ruling chief, donated half a plough out of her estate in Pralamba-grāma (modern Palampur).²⁵

Agricultural Products

The principal crops sown in ancient Chamba and Kangra were paddy and sugarcane, referred to as *dhānya* ²⁶ and *ikṣu*.²⁷ *Dhānya* of which we find the earliest mention in the *R̥gveda* (VI. 13.4) usually denotes grain in general. As pointed out above, in the hill regions of Kashmir, Chamba and Kangra the term is used only for paddy. *Ikṣu* denotes sugarcane which is even now grown in some parts of Chamba.

The Sungal copper plate grant of Vidagdha mentions *rocika* and *citola*.²⁸ the exact meaning of which is uncertain. Vogel takes them to be the names of some agricultural products.

According to D.C. Sircar, they denote certain obligations or levies the exact nature of which is not known.²⁹ However, both the terms are mentioned along with *śasya* (corn), *cāraṇa* (fodder for cattle) and *ikṣu* (sugarcane) and judged from the context, the suggestion of Vogel seems more plausible. The two terms are not known from any literary source and it is difficult to establish their identity.³⁰

There is evidence of the cultivation of oil-seeds in Kangra in the 13th century. The Baijnath *Praśastis* (dated Śaka 1126 or A.D. 1204) inform us that the oil for the burning of oil lamps inside the temple of Vaidyanātha was provided by the merchant brothers who owned an oil mill (*tailotpīḍaṇa yantram*) at Kīragrāma. The existence of oil mill indicates the cultivation of the oil-seeds as well.

Methods of Irrigation

The cultivation of paddy presupposes the existence of a proper system of irrigation. Though from our records, we do not get evidence of any large scale irrigation works yet the occurrence of certain words, such as *kolhika*,³¹ *kullaka*,³² *kuppaṭṭa*,³³ *pāñiya*³⁴ and *Udakaśihāra*³⁵ enables us to form some idea of the methods of irrigation employed in ancient Chamba.

The word *kolhika* is derived from *kohl* which is the present name for a channel drawn from the hill stream and used for irrigating the rice fields.

Kullaka is derived from *kulla* or Sanskrit *kulya* and denotes a canal.

Kuppaṭṭa according to Vogel³⁶ probably denotes a rivulet. It may also be the same as *kūpaka* meaning "a small pit or a hole dug in the dry bed of a rivulet for the collection of water"³⁷ and stand for a pool or depression where water is collected for irrigation purposes.

Udakaśihāra is not known from any other source and its exact meaning is doubtful. According to Vogel³⁸ it means a water course, but it is not possible to explain it etymologically. *Śihāra* in Chamiyali means a furrow. *Udakaśihāra* may mean a water course flowing through the furrow.

Pāñiya appears to be the same as *pāna* which denotes a canal.³⁹

It would thus seem that in ancient Chamba, irrigation was effected mainly by channels, pools, canals or miniature cuts drawn from the hill streams and rivulets. Even now, the channels drawn from the hill streams and generally known as *kuhl* form the main source of artificial irrigation in Chamba.

Land Survey

Land being the main source of subsistence of the people in ancient Chamba, need seems to have been keenly felt for the proper survey of lands and the demarcation of their boundaries. This avoided the quarrels arising out of land disputes, besides facilitating the location of different pieces of land situated in different localities.

Thus in order to give specific location of two pieces of land named *Serī* and *Lavāla* donated by king Vidagdha, the Sunāl copper plate grant gives the following detailed description of their boundaries.⁴⁰ The boundaries of *Serī*: "on the east the limit of the rent free land (*agrahāra*) of (the village) Pāṭala, on the south the limit known as 'the great slope', on the west, the limit of the slope of the *Khanibagga* (field), on the north the limit known as *Prāhabagga*".

The boundaries of *Lavāla*: "on the east side the precipice, on the south side the large rock, on the west side the rivulet (?) *Majvalikā* by name, on the north side the limit of the path to the pasture ground of *Puṣaarī*".

Besides, the cultivated lands had their own limits or *sīmas*. These limits usually consisted of (1) *triṇa*, (2) *goyūthī*, and (3) *gocara*.⁴¹

Triṇa which literary means grass seems to stand for stretches of grass near the cultivated fields. The meaning of *goyūthī* is not definite. The word *yūtha* is often met with in Sanskrit literature and denotes 'a herd'. Therefore, *goyūthī* can be explained as, "the meeting place of the herds of cattle". Vogel equates it with '*gavyūti*' frequently met with in the copper plate inscriptions and renders it as grazing ground for cattle.⁴²

Gocara which occurs in the *Āpastambīya Śrautasūtra*⁴³ and the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁴⁴ and which is commonly met with in the copper plate grants means a pasture.

Besides the limits noted above, a cultivated field was

bounded by two passages, one for entrance and the other for exit. *Nirgama* and *praveśa* are mentioned in this connection. It had also a kitchen garden or a *śāka-vāṭikā* attached to it, which was used for producing vegetables. The mention of *ārāma*⁴⁵ and *viśrāma* within the boundaries of the cultivated fields would show that a cultivated field also contained parks and dwellings which were used by villagers as meeting and resting places.

Land Measures

The standard land measure in ancient Chamba was *bhū* or *bhūmi*. One *bhū* consisted of four sub-measures called *bhūmāṣkas*.⁴⁶ The land measure *bhū* was in vogue in several other parts of India as well, as is indicated by its frequent mention in the copper plate inscriptions. Its value, however, differed in different localities. In Chamba its value was equivalent to 17 acres. Vogel calculating the measure of land donated by king Āsaṭa, remarks, "The land granted in Āsaṭa's charter, which is stated to be 1 *bhū* 6 *bhūmāṣka* in other words $2\frac{1}{2}$ *bhū*, has an area of 14 *lahris* or 42 acres, from which it would follow that one *bhū* of land corresponds with nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ *lahris* or nearly 17 acres."⁴⁷

The area of land was also determined according to the quantity of seed required for sowing it. We find the mention of *piṭaka* in this connection. It is mentioned in the Brahmar copper plate grant of Yugākara-varman where the area of the granted land is expressed in *piṭakas*.⁴⁸ The land measure *piṭaka* is also mentioned in the Sankheda plate of Dadda II of the (Kalchuri) year 392,⁴⁹ but its exact significance is uncertain. Vogel⁵⁰ suggests that it may be equated with modern *pīrā* which is equal to 40 seers. In the Gupta age also, we find that the area of land was determined according to the measure of grain with which it could be sown. Thus we have references to *aḍhavāpa*, *droṇavāpa*, *kulyavāpa* in the Damodarpur copper plates.⁵¹ In the Gunai-garh plate of Vainyagupta, dated A.D. 507-508,⁵² we find the area of land measured in terms of *pāṭakas*. According to the calculations of Dr. Sircar⁵³ one *pāṭaka* is equal to 40 *droṇavāpas* and according to the references given by him, one *droṇavāpa* is equal to 48 acres in certain cases and 25 in others which thus gives the value of one *pāṭaka* as 1920 acres and 1000 acres,

respectively. Dr. Maitey, on the other hand, calculates the area of one *paṭāka* as varying between 72 to 88 acres.⁵⁴

It seems likely though not quite definite that the *piṭaka* of our record is the same as *pāṭaka* of Gunaigarh plate. The modern Bengali term for *pāṭaka* is 'pārā' which closely agrees with *pīrā* the modern equivalent of *piṭaka* in Chamba.

In Kangra land was sometimes measured in *halas*. The measures of land donated to the Śiva temple of Vaidyanātha by various individuals are indicated in the Baijnātha *Praśastis* in terms of *halas*.⁵⁵ A *hala* signified as much land as could be ploughed by a single pair of bullocks. Its exact value is not known. Its connotation differed in different localities. V.V. Mirashi points out that one *hala* of land is said to be equivalent to five acres.⁵⁶

Besides the *piṭaka* noted above, other grain measures mentioned in our records are *khārī* and *drona*. The former is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate grant where Somavarman is stated to have granted annually one *khārī* of grain from the granary (*Koṣṭhāgāra*) of Bhadra-varma (modern Bhadrarama) to a Viṣṇu temple. The latter is mentioned in the Baijnātha *Praśastis* (No. 1, lines 27-28) where a certain Brāhmaṇa named Ralhaṇa, is stated to have donated six *dronas* of grain to the Śiva temple.

Khārī of which we find the earliest mention in the *R̥gveda*⁵⁷ is explained in the *Arthaśāstra*⁵⁸ as equivalent to 16 *dronas*. D.C. Sircar, quoting Bengali authors remarks that the value of one *drona* lies between one maund fourteen seers and two maunds.⁵⁹ *Khārī* is also mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*⁶⁰ and this grain measure has been in use in Kashmir from early times to this day.⁶¹ It consists of 16 traks or 83 kg. corresponding to 117-129/175 lbs. Since the value of *khārī* and *drona* differed in different localities in ancient India, it is not known what exact value did the two measures have in ancient Chamba and Kangra. They are no longer used now in the two hill districts.

II. REVENUE SYSTEM

The copper plate inscriptions do not furnish any direct evidence of taxation in ancient Chamba but the indirect refer-

ence in the Sungal copper plate grant⁶² to certain royal dues which the 'subjects, resident in the enjoyed land' were to deliver to the grantee, enable us to form some idea of revenue system as it was in practice in ancient Chamba.

The royal dues mentioned in this connection are:

(1) *bhāga*, (2) *bhoga*, (3) *kara* and (4) *hiraṇya*.

The terms *bhāga* and *bhoga*, frequently met with in copper plate inscriptions were at first taken by Fleet and Kielhorn as one fiscal expression and translated as 'enjoyment of taxes,⁶³ and 'share of the produce'⁶⁴ by the two scholars, respectively. But now they are taken as two distinct fiscal terms and are explained as such.

Bhāga is mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*⁶⁵ along with *sītā*; *bali*, *kara*, *vaṇik*, etc. T. Ganpati Shastri commenting on the term explains it as '*dhānya-śad-bhāgaḥ*,⁶⁶ i.e., share of produce amounting to one-sixth. Maitey,⁶⁷ however, points out that the king's share of the produce did not universally amount to one-sixth. He refers to Bhaṭṭasvāmin who commenting on the above cited passage of the *Arthaśāstra* explains *śadbhāga* in the general sense of royal share (*rāja-bhāga*) and adds that the term one-sixth includes by implication other rates, such as, one-third and one-fourth prevailing in different tracts.⁶⁸ According to Dr. U.N. Ghoshal, *Bhāga* may be taken to be the king's customary share of the produce levied on the ordinary revenue paying lands which normally though not universally amounted to one-sixth.⁶⁹

It would thus seem that in ancient Chamba, the cultivators had to pay a regular share of their produce to the king as was the custom in other parts of India. Whether the royal share amounted to normal one-sixth of the produce or less, we do not know. It seems to have been also paid in kind and stored in the royal store houses called *koṣṭhāgāras* stationed at the district headquarters. This is indicated by the mention of *koṣṭhāgāra* in the Chamba copper plate grant,⁷⁰ from which one *khārī* of paddy was to be delivered to the grantee annually in addition to the other privileges connected with the grant.

Bhoga is explained by Medatithi⁷¹ as *phalabhara nikādyu-pāyanam* or the presents of fruits, firewood, etc. Bühler,

evidently on the basis of Medātithi's rendering of the term explains it as, "the periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers and the like which the villagers had to furnish to the king."⁷²

Kara as a term of revenue is frequently mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions and it also occurs in the Girnar rock inscription of Rudradāman.⁷³ It is a familiar term in the *Dharmasāstrās* and in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. In the *Manu*,⁷⁴ its significance is interpreted differently by different commentators. Thus Medātithi renders it as 'gift of commodities' (*dravyādīnām*). Sarvajñanārayaṇa interprets it as a 'fixed gold payment on land' (*bhūminiyatam deyam hiranyam*). Rāmacandra explains it 'contribution in the form of grass, wood, etc.,' (*gulmadeyādīhikam*). Kullūka renders it as 'contribution from villagers and townsmen either monthly or at *Bhādrapada* and *Pauṣa*. 'Rāghavānanda interprets it similarly as monthly payment by villagers. Bhaṭṭasvāmin, a commentator of the *Arthaśāstra*, explains it as the royal due payable annually during the month of *Bhādrapada*, *Basanta* and the like.⁷⁵ Kṣīrasvāmin another commentator of the *Arthaśāstra* interprets the term as a tax on all movable and immovable articles.⁷⁶ On the basis of these interpretations Dr. Maitey explains the term as 'a periodical tax levied more or less universally on villagers.'⁷⁷ while Dr. Ghoshal takes it to be a 'general property tax levied periodically.'⁷⁸ Ghoshal also refers to a passage of the *Arthaśāstra*⁷⁹ where the term seems to have been used in the specific sense of an emergency tax levied upon dealers, artisans and the like.⁸⁰

However, the exact nature of this tax or royal due does not become quite clear from the interpretations cited above. It is not definitely known whether it was a monthly, annual or an emergency tax. But that it was oppressive in nature is indicated by the Girnar rock inscriptions of Rudradāman where the term occurs along with *viṣṭi* or forced labour and *praṇaya* or emergency levy and where it is stated that the king constructed the dam of Sudarśana lake without oppressing the people by means of *kara*, *viṣṭi* and *praṇaya*.⁸¹

Hiranya which literary means gold occurs with such fiscal terms as *bhāga*, *bhoga*, *kara* in the copper plate inscriptions

and evidently denotes some tax. Being mentioned along with *bhāga* and *dhānya*⁸² usually interpreted as the king's share of produce paid in kind, the term may be taken to denote tax in cash levied upon certain crops where assessment in kind was not possible. According to Dr. Ghoshal, "in the medieval period of Indian history, while the land revenue before the revenue reforms of Todarmal was paid mostly in kind there were certain classes of crops called *zabti*, the levy of which was always assessed in cash since it was very difficult to divide it into shares and, as such, *hiranya* may be taken to denote a levy or tax of this nature".⁸³

Another important source of revenue was *Śulka*, the officer responsible for the collection of which was called *Śaulkika* frequently mentioned in our copper plate grants. *Śulka* as a fiscal term occurs in such early works as the *Atharvaveda*,⁸⁴ *Dharmasūtras*⁸⁵ and the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.⁸⁶ In the *Amarakośa*⁸⁷ it is explained as *ghaṭṭādideya*, i.e., duties paid at the ferries, etc. Kṣīrasvāmin commenting on the expression *ghaṭṭādideya* takes *Śulka* to denote the ferry duties, the tolls paid at the military or police stations and the transit duties paid by the merchants.⁸⁸ The term also occurs in Manu⁸⁹ and is explained by the commentators as duties paid by the merchants. The *Arthaśāstra*⁹⁰ mentions the term quite frequently and from several references to it in the said text it may be explained as custom or toll duties levied on merchants and collected at the ferries, at the custom houses or octroi posts stationed at the main gate of the town, at the ports and at the frontier stations.

From what has been said above, it would appear that the main sources of revenue in ancient Chamba were (1) land-revenue paid in kind or cash (2) custom and toll duties and (3) certain periodical taxes called *kara*. Besides, the villagers were expected to make frequent supplies of flowers, fruits, firewood and the like to the king.

In the Baijnath *Praśasti* No. 2 (1.27), we have an interesting statement that the ruling chief Lakṣamaṇacandra allotted to the Śiva temple daily six *drammas* of money collected at the *maṇḍapikā*. Bühler, on the analogy of the modern Gujarati and Marathi word *maṇḍavi* which he believes to be the modern representative of ancient *maṇḍapikā* and which means a 'custom

house', renders *maṇḍapikā* as 'custom house'.⁹¹ The term is also mentioned in the form of *maṇḍabikā* in the Pallava grant of Śivaskandavarman⁹² where also according to Bühler⁹³ it denotes a custom house. It also occurs in the Bilhari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva II⁹⁴ where it denotes a market pavillion in the town where various articles brought for sale were assessed and taxed.⁹⁵ It is mentioned along with *Śulka*, in one of the Bhavanagar inscriptions⁹⁶ and we may assume that *maṇḍapikā* in ancient Kīragrāma was a sort of an octroi or custom post situated near the market place in the town, where the articles brought for sale were charged octroi or custom duties according to their nature.

It would thus appear that the custom and the octroi duties were a source of revenue in ancient Kangra as well and the same were collected at the custom houses or octroi posts called *maṇḍapikas*.

The custom duties were also a source of revenue in ancient and medieval Kashmir. This is indicated by the mention of *Śaulkikādhyakṣa* or chief of the customs office in the *Kuṭṭa-nimata* of Dāmodaragupta (Vs. 531) and by several references to *śulka* and *śulkaśāhānas* (custom posts) in the Kashmir chronicles, e.g., *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, VIII-1020; *Jainarā ajatarāṅgiṇī*, 7-408) and in the *Samayamātrkā* of Kṣemendra (ii.407). Custom duties were levied on all imported and exported goods and collected at the frontier watch stations called *Draṅgas*.

Besides the customs and toll duties ferry duties were also a source of revenue in ancient Chamba and Kashmir. This can be inferred from the mention of *Tarapati* or officer in charge ferry service in the list of officials in the copper plate charters of Chamba (see *supra*) and of *taramūlya* or ferry duty in the *Samayamātrkā* of Kashmir (V.85).

III. CURRENCY

The coin denomination prevalent in Chamba and Kangra in the A.D. 12th and the 13th century was *dramma*. It is mentioned in the Luj fountain inscription of the first year of Jāsaṭa dated 1105-06⁹⁷ and in the Baijnath *Prasasti* No. 2⁹⁸ dated A.D. 1204. In the former, owing to the language being

extremely corrupt, it is not exactly known as to in what connection it is mentioned. Vogel thinks that the expression *mula* (*mūlya*) 20 *dramma* occurring in the record denotes the cost of grain (mentioned as *dhanika* or *dhānya*), supplied by the donor for a feast held on the occasion of the erection of the fountain slab.⁹⁹ In the Baijnath *Prasastis* it is mentioned in connection with the donations made to the Śiva temple. It is stated that the ruling chief Lakṣamaṇacandra allotted daily 6 *drammas* collected at the custom house or *maṇḍapikā*.¹⁰⁰

The term *dramma* which is generally believed to be the derivative of Greek *drachma*, was according to D.R. Bhandarkar, a coin denomination prevalent all over Northern India 'in the late mediaeval period, that is from 9th to the 13th century'.¹⁰¹ In his opinion, 'the earliest record where this word has been traced is the Gwalior inscription of Bhojadeva of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty and dated A.D. 875.¹⁰² However, the term occurs even earlier in a Yaudheya coin of A.D. 3rd century¹⁰³ which bears the legend '*devasya drama Brahmana*' which according to S.K. Chakraborty¹⁰⁴ may be construed as "*Brahmanya devasya drama*' meaning the coin dedicated to *Brahmanyadeva* or *Kārttikeya* the tutelary deity of the Yaudheya tribe. The name *dramma* according to Bhaṇḍārkar¹⁰⁵ signified only the coins in silver and it would thus appear that the coinage used in ancient Chamba and Kangra was of silver. This also reflects the prosperous economic conditions prevailing in the two hill districts in the 12th and the 13th centuries.

IV. TRADE AND COMMERCE

Trade in ancient Kangra was carried on by a class of people called *Vanik*¹⁰⁶ or merchants. They were comparatively a wealthier section in the society and carried on trade in the neighbouring districts as well.¹⁰⁷ The articles were offered for sale at the stalls called *paṇya śālās*,¹⁰⁸ The articles imported from outside were charged custom duties at the custom posts called *maṇḍapikas*.¹⁰⁹ The duty was paid in terms of silver coins called *drammas*.¹¹⁰ There were oil mills for extracting oil from the oil-seeds.¹¹¹ The Baijnath *Prasastis* would give us an impression that Kīragrāma was a flourishing town in Kangra

in the 13th century. The very size, design and the architecture of the Baijnath temple, as also the number of donations paid to it by the private individuals testify the richness of the resources of the people of this ancient town.

V. INDUSTRY

The only industry of which we get ample evidence in our records is stone-work. Stone-work appears to have been a very popular industry in ancient Chamba and Kangra. People engaged in this industry were called *Sūtradhāra*.¹¹² Though this term is intimately associated with the ancient Indian Dramatic literature, denoting a person in charge of the stage performance, it is also met with frequently in the inscriptions and usually signifies persons engaged in the construction of stone temples or images. In the inscriptions of Chamba, however, they mostly figure as the builders of water fountains. Their extra-ordinary skill in stone-work in Chamba is amply testified by a number of extant profusely carved fountain slabs which display carftsman-ship of unique character and in Kangra by the Baijnath temple which with its massive *maṇḍapas* and superb carvings evokes highest admiration for the artistic skill of its builders.

VI. ROADS AND COMMUNICATIONS

Well laid out roads seem to have been a luxury in some remote areas of Chamba as they are now. Thus construction of a road, as one of our records would show,¹¹³ was considered a superior act of piety and charity and the merit accruing from the laying out of a road was considered superior to that accruing from such pious acts as construction of a bridge (*setu-bandha*) sinking of a well, construction of a hospice, erection of a temple and the consecration of an image of god.

REFERENCES

1. *Antiquities*, No. 15, lines 11-12 p. 167.
2. *Śābdabagga* and *Paṣkari* are mentioned in the Brahmor Grant of Yugākarvaraman, *op. cit.*, p. 163 text lines 7-8 and *Prāhabagga* and *Khanibagga* and *Yamalikā* in the Sungal Grant of Vidagdha, *ibid.*.

p. 167, text line 13. *Bagga* obviously denotes a vernacular term *bāg* meaning a field.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 167 text lines 15-17, 185 text line 21, 193 text line 20, 199 text line 13.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
5. VII. 115. 4.
6. VIII. 3, 4, 1.
7. II, I, 5.
8. XI. 26.
9. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 201.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 162 text line 7.
11. *Vājñavalkya Smṛti*, II, 29.
12. *Brhaspati Smṛti*. VII. 24-15, 30.
13. *Nārada Smṛti*, I. 84, 85.
14. *Dāyabhāga* quoted in *Vyavahāramayūkham*, Trans. V. N. Mandik, p. 31. n. Also see U. N. Ghoshal, *The Agrarian system in Ancient India*, p. 85 and n. 21.
15. *Vīramitrodaya* quoted in *Vyavahāramayūkha*, p. 89; also see Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 86 and fn. 23.
16. *Gautam Dharmasūtra*, X. 59.
17. *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 199.
18. *Satka*, which is frequently mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions, is explained by D. C. Sircar (*Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 306) as the Sanskritised form of Prakrit *Santaka* meaning 'the holding of.....)' 'belonging to.....'
19. It is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate inscription of Somavarman and Āsaṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 193, and has been translated by Vogel as 'held by', *ibid* p. 196. One of the meanings of the word given in Monier William's *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 1274 is 'belonging to', Both *satka* and *sthita* would in our case denote temporary belonging or possession.
20. *Arthaśāstra*, II. 15.
21. *EI*. Vol. I, pp. 97 ff.
22. *Ibid.*, *Praśasti* No. 1 line 28.
23. *Ibid.*, line 29.
24. *Ibid.*, No. II, line 30.
25. *Ibid.*, No. 1, line 28.
26. *Op. cit.*, p. 194, No. 25, text line 21, Baijnath *Praśasti* No. 1, text line 27.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 167, No. 15, text line 23.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Sircar, D. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 181.
30. *Rachika* may be the same as *rochaka*, one of the meanings of which given by Monier William's *op. cit.*, p. 888, is a kind of onion "grantha-parṇa bheda".
31. *Op. cit.*, p. 160, No. 14, text line 7.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 164, No. 15, text line 16.

- 63 33. *Ibid.*, text line 15.
- 64 34. *Ibid.*, text line 16.
- 65 35. *Ibid.*
- 66 36. *Ibid.* p. 168. Monier William's *Dictionary*, p. 300.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Monier William's, *op. cit.*, p. 613.
39. *Op. cit.*, p. 167, No. 15, text lines 12-15.
40. *Ibid.*, No. 15, text line 16, No. 24, line 21, No. 25, line 20, No. 26, line 13.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 168.
42. I. 2, 4.
43. IV. 44, 80.
44. Ārāma which also occurs in the Asokan inscriptions is explained by Luders as a 'Park' vide his *Glossary of Asokan Inscriptions*, p. 149. In the title deeds of Chamba it is generally accompanied by the word *Vrkṣa* and is, as such, variously rendered by Vogel as garden and 'orchard' (*op. cit.*, pp. 187, 196. 200). However, it may denote a grassy plot of land shaped by trees and used by villagers as a meeting place, cf Monier William's, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
45. This is indicated by the Chamba copper plate grant *op. cit.*, which records the total grant of 15 *bhū* of land divided into two portions, one consisting of 2 *bhūmāṣkas* and the other of 14 *bhū* and 2 *bhūmāṣkas*.
- 67 46. *Op. cit.*, p. 191.
- 68 47. *Op. cit.*, No. 14, text lines 9-10.
- 69 48. *CII*. Vol. IV. p. 77.
- 70 49. *Op. cit.*, p. 160.
- 71 50. *EL.*, Vol. XV. pp. 130 ff.
- 72 51. *IHQ*, 1930, pp. 45 ff.
- 73 52. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 342, fn. 7.
- 74 53. Maitey, S. K., *Economic Life of Northern India*, pp. 40-41.
- 75 54. *Op. cit.*, No. 1, line 28. No. II lines 28-30.
- 76 55. *CII* Vol. IV, p. cl-xxi That *hala* was a measure of land in ancient Kashmir as well is indicated by reference to *hala* as a land measure in the—*Kuṭṭanimata* of Dāmodavagupta, verse 937. cf. Shastri Ajayamitra, *India as seen in the Kuṭṭanimata of Dāmodaragupta*, pp. 194-195.
- 77 56. IV. 32. 17.
- 78 57. II. 19.
- 79 58. Sircar, D. C. *op. cit.* p. 101.
- 80 59. V. 71; also cf. Stein, trans, Vol. I, p. 196 n.
- 81 60. Modern Kashmiri equivalent of *Khārī* is *Khār*.
- 82 61. *Op. cit.*, No. 15, line 22.
- 83 62. *Fleet. CII*, Vol. III, p. 254, fn. 4.
63. *EL.*, VII, p. 160.
64. II. 6

65. *Arthaśāstra* (edited by T. Ganapati Shastri), p. 186.
66. Maitey, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
67. *Ibid.*
68. Ghoshal, U. N., *History of Revenue System*, pp. 34-35.
69. *Op. cit.*, No. 25, line 21.
70. Vide his commentary on *Manusmṛti*, VIII, 307.
71. *El.*, Vol. I, p. 75 n.
72. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 44.
73. VIII, 307.
74. *Karaḥ varṣa-deyaḥ Bhādrapadika-Vasantikādy-upadanam*, vide, Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary on the *Arthaśāstra*. II, 15.
75. *Pratyekam sthāvara-jaṅgamādi-deyaḥ karaḥ*.
76. *Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 59. Maitey's explanation is the same as given by Ghoshal in his *Historiography*, p. 173.
77. *History of Revenue system*, p. 36.
78. V. 2
79. *Op. cit.*
80. *Apīdayitvā kara-viṣṭi-praṇaya-kriyābhiḥ paura-janapadam*.
81. *El.*, Vols I, p. 13; IV. P. 8. VI. p. 28 etc.
82. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.
83. III. 29. 3.
84. Gautama *Dharma-Sūtra*, X. 25, Āpastamba *Dharma-Sūtra*, II. 26. 9.
85. V. I. 47.
86. II. 8. 27.
87. *Ghaṭṭo naditarasthānamādi-śabdat gulma-pratolyādaḥ praveśya-natī-kramya-dravyabhyo rājagrāhya bhāgaḥ sulkah*.
88. VIII. 307.
89. II. 6, 16, 21, 28, 35, etc.
90. *El.* Vol. I. p. 117 n.
91. *Ibid.*, pp. 2 ff
92. *Ibid.*, p. 7 n.
93. *CII* Vol. 4, No. 45, pp. 204 ff.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 223, fn. 2 and p. clxx. According to V. V. Mirashi, *loc. cit.* *maṇḍapikā* (from which the Marathi word *maṇḍai* a market place is derived) seems to have been a pavillion in the market place where things brought to the market for sale were taxed. The term may be preserved in the modern Hindi word *Maṇḍi* meaning a market place, same as Marathi *maṇḍai*.
95. *Bhavanagara Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions*, p. 159 where we have mention of *Śulkamaṇḍapikā*.
96. *Op. cit.*, p. 205.
97. *Op. cit.*, p. 115.
98. *Op. cit.*, p. 204.
99. *Op. cit.*, 1. 27, p. 115.
100. *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 206.
101. *Ibid.*

- 95 102. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 186.
- 96 103. *IHQ.*, 1939, Vol. XV, p. 70.
- 97 104. *Op. cit.*, p. 207
- 98 105. The term is mentioned frequently in the *Bajinath Prasasti*, No. 1, lines 23, 26, 29.
- 99 106. *Ibid.*, No. II, lines 25-26.
- 100 107. *Ibid.*, line 30.
- 101 108. *Ibid.*, line 27
- 102 109. *Ibid.*
- 103 110. *Ibid.*, line 29.
- 104 111. The term occurs at the end of most of the fountain inscriptions of Chamba and figures as the designation of a person who prepared the fountain slab. It is also mentioned in the *Bajinath Prasasti* No. 1 (l. 30) where certain Nāyaka is described as *vasan-sūtradhāradhuri* who along with certain Thoḍḍuka is stated to have fashioned with the chisel-*ṭāṅkita*, the Śiva temple along with its *maṇḍapas*. The term is also seen in the blurred brief inscription in one of the outer pillars of the famous temple of Śaktīdevī at Bharamaur where the word is followed by a proper name of which only a couple of letters are preserved-perhaps of the architect who fashioned the elegantly carved temple. The Lodu (Kashmir) inscription, Deambi, *op. cit.* No 18 mentions *Sthāpati* which is probably the synonym of *Sūtradhāra*, see *Viṣṇu-dharmottra*, II. 24. 39.
- 105 112. *Antiquities*, p. 236.

CHAPTER VII

LITERATURE

The Śāradā inscriptions, though small in number and generally brief in content, throw interesting light on the contemporary state of Sanskrit learning in the places of their origin. The inscriptions from Kashmir, it is true, do not add much to what we already know about the vast Sanskrit literature of the Valley, but those from Chamba and Kangra are particularly important since they, in the absence of any extant literary record, form the only means of studying the nature and the development of the Sanskrit literature in the two ancient Hill States. We shall discuss below the literary content of the important inscriptions of each region, viz., Kashmir, Chamba, Kangra and Gandhāra, and see what light do they throw on the contemporary literary activities.

Kashmir

Kashmir also called the *Śāradā maṇḍala* or the land of Sarasvatī, has been the home of Sanskrit learning and has made valuable contribution to the Sanskrit literature in all its branches. Besides the works on poetry, it has had unique distinction of producing much valued historical kāvyas, authoritative treatises on rhetorics and some notable expository works on the native Śaiva philosophy. Before we come to study the literary aspect of the Śāradā inscriptions from Kashmir it would be worthwhile to trace in outline the history of the Sanskrit literature produced in the valley from the earliest times to the 16th century.

The earliest known Sanskrit compositions date back to the

6th century A.D. when Candraka who wrote under Tuñjina composed a few dramas and Menṭha, the protege of Māṭṛgupta wrote his celebrated poem *Hayagrīvavadha*. None of the works of these authors has come down to us, but a few extracts from their compositions are preserved in Śrīvara's *Subhāṣitāvali*. To the 7th or the 8th century belongs the *Nilamata-purāṇa* which while giving in detail the legendary account of the creation of Kashmir, furnishes important information about the ancient geography of the Valley. To the same period belongs Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata-kāvya*, which though dealing with the subject on erotics sheds interesting light on the contemporary social life.

The rule of the Kārkoṭas and the Utpalas extending over a period of three centuries saw a rare out-burst of literary activity and a large number of works on poetry, rhetorics and philosophy was composed. Among these specially notable are, Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata-kāvya* (noted above), Bhāmaha's *Kāvya-lāṅkāra*, Ratnākara's *Haravijaya* (a *Mahākāvya* of 50 cantos), Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*, a celebrated work on poetics, Vasugupta's *Spandāmṛta*, Kallaṭa's *Spandasarvasva* and *Spandakārikas*, Somānanda's *Śivadrṣṭi*, Utpala's *Śīvastotrāvalī* and Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, and *Parātrīṃśikāvivarṇa*, all Śaiva texts.

To the 11th century belongs the polyhistor Kṣemendra who wrote several works, amongst which the *Kalāvilāsa*, the *Samayamāṭṛkā* and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* stand pre-eminent. To the same century belong the celebrities like Mammaṭa, the well-known writer of *Kāvya-prakāśa*, Somadeva, the author of *Kathāsaritasāgara* and Bilhaṇa who eulogised his patron Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyāṇa in his famous *Mahākāvya Vikramāṅkadevacarita*.

In the 12th century flourished Maṅkha, the author of *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, Kalhaṇa, the well-known writer of the *Rājatarangīnī* and Ruyyaka, who composed a work on rhetorics called *Alaṅkārasarvasva*.

Among the later writers mention may be made of Jayaratha who wrote *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, Jonarāja, Śuka and Śrīvara, who continued the thread of historical narrative left by Kalhaṇa in their chronicles called *Dvītiya*, *Tṛtīya* and *Caturthī Rāja-*

*tarāṅginī*s, down to the 16th century and Śrivarā who composed an anthology called *Subhāṣitāvalī* which is of great interest for the history of Indian literature and contains extracts from more than 350 poets.

It is singularly unfortunate that Kashmir which produced such a vast and rich literature would have yielded a very few Śāradā epigraphs and those also mostly brief and fragmentary in character. The extant records, which are generally dedicatory in nature, do not furnish name of any poet or a literary work, but they are, nevertheless, important in as much as they furnish proof of the common man's commendable knowledge of Sanskrit language. Written in correct Sanskrit except for a few mistakes here and there, they bear testimony to the average writer's sound knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. The two brief records from the remote territory of Wadwan near Kishtawar are particularly note-worthy as they would show that even the common herdsmen living in the far-flung areas of Kashmir possessed reasonable knowledge of Sanskrit.

Among the extant records, only the Arigom stone inscription, the Kotihar slab inscription and the Khunmoh stone inscription are somewhat detailed in content.¹ The Arigom inscription consists of two verses, one in Śloka and the other in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. Being dedicatory in nature, it possesses little literary value. The Kotihar stone slab inscription is written in verse and consists of 11 stanzas of which 6 are only partly preserved. Besides, it is written in highly cursive handwriting and most of the letters being difficult to evaluate, the inscription does not permit of a detailed literary study. The decipherable portion contains the eulogy of Shihāb-ud-Din in a conventional Kāvya style with little of poetic merit. It appears to have been written by some Bhaṭṭasimha.

The Khunmoh inscription consists of 9 verses mostly narrative in character. Except the verse 7 which describes the austerities performed by certain ascetic Gammatasodaka, the inscription does not possess any literary interest. The verse is written in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre and is a beautiful instance of the figure *Arthāntaranyāsa*. The verse reads:

जित्वा मारं प्रबलतमसं बद्धपद्मासनस्थ-

स्मृत्वा ध्यानमलुठितपदमक्षयं सेवमानः ।

काले तेनैवेह कलियुगे लब्धमार्गश्चिवस्य

सत्यदाहं च किमपि न पदं सिद्धयते सर्वलोके ॥

“Having conquered Māra (Satan) of powerful darkness, seated in firm Padmāsana posture, he engaged himself in meditation, desirous of attaining that state of imperishableness, which knows no fall, and in fulness of time, he found his way to Śiva in the Kali Yuga by means even of that (contemplation). For, what position is there in the whole universe which cannot be achieved by firmness in truth ?”

CHAMBA

Chamba has yielded a good number of Śāradā records but only a few of these are detailed and well preserved. Among the extant inscriptions, only three are in verse and the rest in prose. Those in verse include (1) the Sarāhan Praśasti, (2) Devi-ri-kothi fountain inscription of Rājānaka Nāgapāla and (3) the Mul-Kihar fountain inscription.

*The Sarāhan Praśasti*²

It is written in elegant Sanskrit poetry and consists of 22 stanzas. Except the first three and the last stanzas which are benedictory, and the 21st, which records the erection of a Śiva temple by a certain ruling chief Sātyaki in memory of his beloved wife Somaprabhā, the rest are devoted to the praise and the description of the beauty of Somaprabhā in the traditional Kāvya style. The language is simple and refined. The whole poem is written in a variety of metres. The diversity of metres, however, is not due to the poet's fondness for the display of his knowledge of Sanskrit prosody, but has a close connection with the nature of the contents of the poem. Thus, for the benedictory stanzas, Āryā metre has been used while for the bulk of the poem, describing the beauty of the limbs of the queen, the most appropriate Upajāti has been chosen. Other metres used in one stanza each, are *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā*. Besides, the poet has sought to embellish his poem by the dextrous use of figures of speech. *Anuprāsa* has been freely

used. An illustration of this figure may be noted in the following verse where the repetition of *bha*, *la*, *ka* and *ma* produces sweet melodious effect.

आसीत्प्रशस्त-गुण-गौरव-वृत्त युक्त—

पर्युल्लसद्भि मलिमाकर-राजि-शुद्धः ।

श्री भोगटो भुवन-भूषण-भूत मूर्ति—

स्सुव्यक्त-मौक्तिक-मणि-प्रतिम पृथिव्याम् ॥

“There was on the earth, illustrious Bhogaṭa, endowed with laudable virtues, dignity and deportment, pure like the sickle of the shining moon (lit. like the sickle of the glittering shedder of brightness), whose form was an ornament of the world and who resembled a jewel of very clear pearls.”

Among the figures of sense or the *Arthālaṅkāras*, *Upamā*, and *Utprekṣā* are predominant. A beautiful instance of *Śliṣṭa-upamā* is noticed in the following verse, where the comparison of Somaprabhā with the Muse of a good poet is most striking and the epithets chosen can be applied to both the Muse and the queen.

नाना विधालङ्कृति-सन्निवेश-विशेष-रम्या गुणशालिनी या ।

मनोहरत्वं सुतरामवाप सचेतसां सत्कवि-भारतीव ॥

“She exceeding lovely and rich in virtues, attained, by the cunning disposition of various ornaments still greater charm in the eyes of the men of taste, like the Muse of a good poet, which exceedingly lovely and rich in the (three *Kāvya*) *guṇas* attains by the skilful use of various figures of speech (*alaṅkāra*) still greater charm in the eyes of the men of taste”.

As an illustration of *Utprekṣā* may be quoted the following verse which contains a novel description of *trivālī*, a mark of female beauty.

यस्याश्च मध्यं स्तन-भार-भृत्या मा भूद्धि भङ्ग × कृशताकुलस्य ।

एतस्य शङ्कामिति विभ्रतेव घात्रा वली-दाम-चयेन बद्धम् ॥

“The Creator, who was affraid that, by carrying the burden of

her breasts, her slender waist might break, has bound it with a girdle of multitudinous folds.”

The other figures of speech used are *Rūpaka*, *Atiśayokti* and *Sambhāvanā*.

The *Praśasti* contains the following few uncommon words which make important additions to the vocabulary.

1. *Vimalimākara* (*vimalimāna-ākara*), and 2. *Sudhā-sūti* both meaning “moon”; and 3. *Ātmaja* used in the sense of ‘love,’ apparently on the analogy of *manasiḥja*, *manobhava* etc.

With the exception of the frequent use of some burdensome adjectives like *Kāṭhinyabhāja*, *aruṇabhāvabhāja*, *śubratvabhāja*, *kṛṣātākula* and *vyākroṣatā-śālin*, which convey no more sense than *kathina*, *aruṇa*, *śubhra*, *kṛṣa* and *vyākroṣa*, the language of the inscription is elegant, simple and grammatically correct.

Thus, ‘*Sarāhan Praśasti*’ can rightly be regarded as a specimen of good Sanskrit poetry. It has been described by Vogel as a ‘love-poem’ carved on stone.

The Devt-ri-Kothi Fountain Inscription

This inscription, though possessing great literary merit is, unfortunately, sadly mutilated. Of the 17 verses the first 9 are completely lost while the rest are preserved in part, but the missing portions have been admirably restored by Dr. Vogel. The extant portion contains (1) a brief eulogy of certain Rājānaka Nāgapāla, (2) a pathetic description of the Rājānaka’s mother Balhā who was prevented by her son from committing *Sati* after the death of her husband, (3) an interesting statement that Balhā sought to ensure the future bliss of her deceased lord by erecting a fountain slab and (4) the date and the writer’s name. The inscription is particularly remarkable for verses 12 and 13 which contains fine description of the austerities and the acts of piety performed by Balhā after she was prevented by her son from following her husband into death, and also for verse 15 which artistically describes the instability of the human world. The three verses are quoted below:

(पितरि पर) मुपेते लोकमस्तोकशोक—
 स्सपदि पतिवियोगा (न्मूर्छितां मातरं) स्वाम् ।
 अनुगमन-विधानाद्वारयामास कृच्छा—
 त्सनय (विनयशाली बाल) केनानुजेन ॥

संज्ञामवाप्य सततं नि(यतोपवा) स—
 तीव्रव्रतैर्निज-तनुं तनुतां नयन्ती ।
 वृद्धिं नि(नाय व)र दानमसौ सुतौ च
 दीने दयां च मुरवैरिणि (चैव) भक्तिम् ॥

“After his father had gone to the next world, he that abode of good deportment and modesty-overwhelmed with grief, with difficulty and through his younger brother (who was still) an infant held back from following him (into death) his mother, instantly fainting at the separation from her lord. She recovered her consciousness and henceforth, whilst by rigid vows of constant fasts she reduced her body to meagreness, she brought up her sons and increased her charity, her compassion for the poor and her devotion to Kṛṣṇa.”

जवन-पवन-वेल्लल्लोल-कल्लो (ल) -माला-प्रतिमित-शशिलेखा-चंचलं
 जीवलोकम् ।
 प्रति-(पदम)वबुद्ध्याचीकरत्साथ बल्हा निजपति-सुकृतार्थं
 पुष्क (राधा) रमेतम् ॥

“By Balhā, who at every step had conceived the world of the living to be unstable like the crescent reflected in a garland of waves restless and trembling with the fleeting breeze, had this cistern made for the sake of the bliss of her lord.”

As regards versification, we find each verse written in a separate metre. Thus, while the 10th verse is in *Śikharinī*, 11th in *Upajāti*, the 12th is in *Mālinī*. The other metres used are *Vasantatilakā* (Vs. 13), *Upajāti* (Vs. 14), *Mālinī* (Vs. 15), *Prthivī* (Vs. 16) and *Āryā* (Vs. 17).

The figures of speech have been skilfully used. An instance of the *śabdālankāra Yamaka* may be noted in the following verse where we have the repetition of word *śāla*.

तस्यामभूदस्य शुभैकशालो गुणैर्विशालो रिपुलोक-कालः ।

धर्म्यक्रियोत्पुंसित-पापजल्पश्श्रीनागपालो रणसीम्यबालः ॥

“She bore him (a son) the illustrious Nāgapāla, the sole abode of grace, great by his virtues, the destroyer of his foes, he who by his righteous works had swept away the web of sin, not (acting) like a child in the forefront of the battle.”

The poem has all the qualities of an ornate *Kāvya* and *Kamalālāñchana*, its writer, can rightly be regarded a good poet with sound knowledge of Sanskrit language and rhetorics.

Mulkihar Fountain Inscription⁴

This inscription, too, like the one noted above, is badly defaced and only a few verses are preserved completely. The mutilated condition of the inscription is much to be regretted as it appears to have contained a poem of considerable poetic merit. The inscription, which originally must have contained 31 stanzas, may be roughly divided into three parts. The first part contains three benidictory stanzas where in we have invocation to various deities. The second contains the genealogy of Rājānaka Gayāpāla, and the third gives an account of the setting up a fountain slab by the Rājānaka. Of the three parts, the second is the most important as it contains a few specimens of beautiful Sanskrit poetry. Thus, for example, the following description of the beauty of queen Bhāppikā followed by the pathetic account of her passing away is very exquisite.

कुन्द-कुडमल-दती सुमध्यमा फुल्लपंकजमुखी पिक-स्वरा ।

नील-नीरज-समान लोचना भप्पिकेत्यभवद (स्य चात्मजा) ॥

(सा प्रयाता) तृ(त्रि) दशपति-वधूनां रूप-सौभाग्य-वृत्ति । (नियतमव)

(निमाप्ताशा) परित्यज्य जेतुं विजित-मनुज-लोका स्वर्ग-भूमि (मवाप) ॥

“He had also a daughter, Bhappikā by name, with teeth like jasmine buds, a slender waist, a face like a full-blown lotus, the voice of a cuckoo and eyes resembling dark blue water-lilies. She ... passed away. Certainly. having attained her

wish and conquered the world of men, she left the earth and reached the abode of heaven, to transcend in beauty, loveliness and manners the women of the chief of the gods."

The cruelty of fate in separating the two lovers is exquisitely portrayed in the following partly preserved verse.

... न प्रणयिता न सत्यं नो ... न च मधुरवाक्यामृत-रसः ।

खलस्येतच्चित्ते निवसति (क) दाचिद्बत विधे :

(यथा) दुष्टादुष्टान्नयति सम-वृ (त्या यम-पुरीम्) ॥

"... neither affection, nor faithfulness, nor ... nor the nectar-juice of sweet words-alas (none of these things) ever dwells in the mind of Fate, that churl, who leads the righteous and unrighteous in the same manner to Yama's town."

Again, the following pathetic description of Rājānaka's grief over the passing away of his beloved is equally worth admiring.

... नयनाभि राममुत्संगां प्रियतमां जनताभिनन्धाम् ।

भर्तुर्व्ययूज दिमां विषम × कृतान्त पर्वत्यय इशशिकलामिव (धर्मरश्मेः) ॥

... वो ग्निसमान-दु × खानुज-दुख-भीरोः ।

तद्रोदनाभमस्त्रुति-सिच्यमान इशनैश्शशाम प्रिय- (बा) न्धवस्य ॥

"... thus hostile Fate separated her—his most beloved, seated on his lap, the delight of his eyes, praised by all mankind—from her husband, even as the passing of the *parvan* (separates) the Moon-sickle from the hot-rayed (Sun) ... the fire (o grief) of her dear relation ... was slowly allayed besprinkled with the stream of the water of his eyes."

The poem is written in a variety of metres, but the selection of metres speaks of the chaste moderation of the writer. The long metre like *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* has been used only once, while the graceful *Vasantatilakā* and simple and small *Anuṣṭubha* have been used in as many as 14 verses, each in 7 verses. Other metres used are, *Mālinī*, *Upajāti* and *Mandākrāntā*.

The figures of speech, of which *Upamā* and *Rūpaka* have been more frequently used, have been judiciously used and they

make the sense more clear than obscure it. The entire poem is couched in a simple, lucid and elegant language which is remarkably free from mistakes.

Thus, the three inscriptions in verse, noted above, impress us most as beautiful love poems with predominant sentiment of pious conjugal devotion, eloquently expressed in a poetic language which is simple and refined and embellished with rhetorical ornaments. Possessed as they are, with all the requisites of a good *Kāvya*, the *Praśastis* prove the existence of a developed *Kāvya* literature in ancient Chamba, of which, unfortunately, only three specimens have been bequeathed to us.

We next come to the prose compositions of which the copper plate inscriptions furnish best examples. The prose employed in these title deeds is generally simple and chaste and the long compounds are resorted to only occasionally in the genealogical portions. The only exception is the Brahmor grant of Yugākaravarman⁵ which owing to prepondering vernacular terms and looseness of syntactical connection lacks precision and clarity. The only thing that impairs the value of these inscriptions as good prose compositions is the abundance of grammatical mistakes which betray the writers' poor knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. This, however, is not much to be regretted as these documents were written not by the talented men of letters, but by the ordinary clerks who cannot be supposed to have scholar-like command over Sanskrit language and grammar. We may quote below a few lines from the Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa (11th century) as illustrative of the contemporary prose composition of the 11th century in ancient Chamba.⁶

समर-भर-भग्नारुणारुक्-तुरुक्.विपुल-बल-विशाल सा(शा)खिनः
 कुरुक्षेत्रे राहूपराग-समय-समर्थि (पि)त मद-गन्ध-लुब्ध-मधुकर-कुलाकुल-
 कपोल-फलक-करि-घटा-दान प्रीति-प्रसन्न-मानस-भगवद्भास्कराभिनन्दित
 निजान्वय-प्रसूति-परम्परा-सार-करिवर्षाभिधानाभ्युदयस्य तत्काल-
 मिलित-निखिल-महीपाल-मुख-मशी(पी)कूचिका-कीर्ति-सुरभित-सप्तभुवना-
 भोगस्य . . .

While the prose employed in the Chamba title deeds is generally of a standard type, the prose of the fountain inscriptions which form the bulk of our records from this ancient hill State, is highly corrupt and full of Vernacular influence. As an illustration may be cited the following a few lines from the Luj fountain inscription⁷ which is comparatively better preserved and carefully incised.

श्री-महाराजा जासठ-प्रथम-वर्षा-थापिता । तत्र काले भाटली-भटगिरि
सुत । नागरा । महाप्रजा । पर्लोकार्थे वरुण-देव थापितं । इदं भोग्य
नाना भोग्य समुत्पन्न्य । पोशमासे थापितं इति शुभम् ॥ बोढई
कलोणे सतधर देव-पुत्र-देव । महाप्रजा । जोद धानिकं समुत्पन्न्य
गुल द्र २० ।

KANGRA

Kangra has yielded only a few Śāradā records leaving aside those written in Devāṣeṣa or hill Tākārī. Of the extant records only the two *Praśastis* of Baijnath⁸ are more detailed and important from literary point of view. We shall discuss the literary merit of these inscriptions in detail below.

The *Praśastis* are written by a poet named Rāma who appears to have been a good poet despite his youth.⁹ He was the son of *Bhṛṅgaka* and *Śṛṅgārā*. *Bhṛṅgaka* was himself a poet and also held the office of *Pramāṭṛ* in Kashmir.¹⁰ It may be that *Bhṛṅgaka* owed his talent to Kashmir which was a flourishing centre of Sanskrit learning at the time and Rāma inherited the same from his father.

The *Praśasti* No. 1 consists of 39 verses. Its contents may be described under the following sections :

1. A long hymn called *Gaurīśvarastotram*, addressed to Śiva and Pārvatī, Vss. 1-19.
2. A new *maṅgala*, Vs. 20
3. An account of the ruling chief of Kīragrāma, Lakṣamaṇa-candra, Vss. 21-26.
4. A brief description of the two merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka, the founders of the Śiva temple at Kīragrāma, Vss. 27-30.

5. An account of the donations made to the Śiva temple by various private individuals, Vss. 31-35.
6. A notice of the masons or architects who constructed the temple, Vss. 36-37.
7. A brief notice of the poet Rāma, who composed the *Praśasti*, Vs. 38.
8. The date and the mention of the overlord Jayacandra to whom Lakṣamaṇa-candra owed allegiance, Vs. 39.

The *Praśasti* No. 11 consists of 37 verses. Its contents may be described as follows :

1. A *maṅgala* of five verses.
2. The mention of the king of Jālandhara, Vs. 6.
3. An account of the two builders of the Śiva temple Vss. 7-9.
4. A poetic description of Kīragrāma and its chief Lakṣamaṇa-candra, Vs. 10.
5. A detailed genealogy of Lakṣamaṇa-candra, Vss. 11-12.
6. A fuller description of the two merchant brothers, their piety and the cause which led to the founding of the Śiva temple, Vss. 23-29.
7. An account of the donations made to the Śiva temple by the Rājānaka Lakṣamaṇa-candra, by his mother Lakṣaṇā and by the two builders of the Śiva temple, together with the blessings on those who honour the grants and curses against those who seize them, Vss. 30-35.
8. An account of the author of the *Praśasti*, Vss. 36-37.
9. A notice probably of an additional donation in prose.
10. The date.

Now coming to the literary merit of the *Praśastis* we find that the whole composition speaks of a great poetic skill on the part of the author, Rāma. The fourteen verses (2-17) out of the nineteen verses of the hymn addressed to Śiva and Gaurī, are notable for poetic ingenuity as they can be applied to both Śiva and Gaurī. As an illustration may be quoted the following verse in which the epithets used can be applied both to Śiva and his spouse.¹¹

मुहुस्समुद्रासिन एवं युद्ध-क्रीडा निकृत्तासुर सर्पपस्य ।

सत्यं हरेरप्युपरि त्वमेव सन्तिष्ठसे निष्ठुरवीर्यधाम्नः ॥

(In case of Śiva) "Thou alone standest, indeed, even above Hari, who again and again takes repose in the ocean, who drank the stream (of blood) from (the body of) the demon slain in a playful fight and who possesses a brilliancy of fierce strength."

(In case of Gaurī) "Thou alone ridest, indeed, even on a lion, who again and again is lying (curled up) like a ring, who drinks the stream of the blood of those slain (by thee) in the battle play and who possesses fierce power."

The following verse which describes the eight forms of Śiva in four accessory sentences, testifies the poet's commendable hold over language.¹²

काष्ठोद्धीपनकर्मठा जगति या या निर्मिमेपेक्षणै-
स्सत्पक्षैरूपजीव्यते द्विजजनं या बिभ्रती शंस्य (ते)
देवस्याहुतिलस्पटस्य परमा-पुष्टिर्यतो जायते
ताभिर्मूर्तिभिरष्टभिर्भवतु वो भूत्यै भवानी वि(भु): ॥

"May the lord of Bhavānī grant you happiness through those eight bodies (of his) viz., that which in this world is active in kindling wood (*Agni* and *Yajamāna*) that which is active in illuminating the quarters (of the) world (*Sūrya* and *Candramā*), that on which the strong finned (fish) endowed with never twinkling eyes, subsist (*Āpa*), that on which gods live, whose adherents are virtuous (*Ākāśa*), that which is praised as maintaining twice born men (*Pr̥thvī*) that which is praised as carrying the birds, that through which the deity, greedy of offerings attains the highest growth (*Vāyu*).

The following exquisite description of Kīragrāma is worth admiring.¹³

शैलस्याङ्कुलित्वा रुचिरनववया खेलतीयं सहेलं
कुल्या कन्धेव यत्र स्फुरदुरलहरी कन्दुका बिन्दुकाख्या ।
कीरग्रामोभिरामो गुणगणनिलयो वर्तते धिन्निगतं
सोऽयं राजानकेन प्रबल भुजयुजा रक्षितो लक्ष्मणेन ॥

“There is in Trigarta the pleasant village of *Kīragrāma*, the home of numerous virtues, where that river called *Bindukā*, leaping from the lap of the mountain with glittering broad waves sportively plays, thus resembling a bright maiden in the first bloom of youth (who jumping from the lap of her nurse gracefully sports). That [village] is protected by the strong-armed *Rājānaka Lakṣamaṇa*.”

As regards versification, we find frequent change of metres which betrays the poet's sound knowledge of Sanskrit prosody. Thus in the *Praśasti* No. 1, the following metres have been used.

(1) *Anuṣṭubh*, Vss. 4, 8, 11-17, 32, 33, 38; (2) *Āryā*, 10, 18-19, 31; (3) *Upajāti*, 5, 7, 21-24, 26-29; (4) *Varṇasastha*, 25; (5) *Vasantatilakā*, 1; (6) *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, 2, 3, 20; (7) *Svagata*, 20, 34-36.

In the *Praśasti* No. 2, we find *Āryā* metre used more frequently. It has been used in as many as 24 verses. The other metres used are (1) *Anuṣṭubh*, Vss. 2, 8, 20-21; (2) *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* 4, 14-15, *Sragdharā*, 1, 3, 10, *Upajāti* 18 *Svagata*, 32.

As regards *Alaṅkāras*, or the figures of speech, we find the poet's conscious effort to display his knowledge of rhetorics. In a single verse more than one *Alaṅkāra* has been used. Thus the following verse contains as many as four *alaṅkāras*, viz., *Avajāñā*, *Arthāpatti*, *Śleṣa* and *Parisarṅkhyā*.¹⁴

असन्न मृत्युत्वदशामुपेयुमां पुरेषु नास्थाममरेषु कुर्वताम् ।
सत्यं भवानी शरणाभिलाषिणां मनोरथं पूरयितुं प्रगल्भते ॥

“Thou O *Īṣa*, art able, indeed to fulfil the wish of men who approaching the hour of death, do not care for the towns of the gods, (but) desire (eternal) bliss.”

“*Bhavānī*, indeed, is able to fulfil the wish of those who, approaching the hour of death, do not care for the town of the gods, (but) seek (her) protection.”

Poet's fondness for the display of his knowledge of *Alaṅkāras* and the skill in the use of long compounds is

manifest in the following verse in which the first *pāda* consists of a single compound and in which four *Alaṅkāras*, viz. *Paryāyokti*, *Rūpaka*, *Yamaka* and *Ananyaya*, have been simultaneously used.¹⁵

हस्तालम्बकमुन्नताद्विलुठितामाराधितत्र्यम्बकं
शत्रुश्रीपरिचुम्बकं परतिमिस्वीकारचिन्तापकम् ।
क्रान्तग्रामकदम्बकं नृपतिभिस्सदबन्धु (कौ)टुम्बकं
स्वाकारप्रतिविम्बकं स च कृती लेभे सुतं डोम्बकम् ॥

“And that happy man obtained a son called Dombaka, who reflected his (father's) nature, who supported by the hand those falling from high places, who worshipped Tryāmbaka, who kissed the fortune of his enemies, who was deeply engrossed with the care of catching (those) fish—his foes—who together with (other) princes took many villages, who was the head of a family of worthy relatives.”

It will be seen that the *Prasastis* while betraying poet's sound knowledge of prosody and rhetorics and his commendable hold on language and grammar contain very little of genuine poetic interest. Even a few verses which could otherwise be regarded as specimens of good poetry are overlaid with rhetorical ornaments which more obscure the sense than make it clear. *Prasastis*, however, contain all the qualities of artificial Sanskrit poetry which aims more at form than at the spirit of *Kāvya*, and they deserve to be ranked among the great *Prasastis* of this type.

GANDHĀRA

Among our records from Gandhāra only the Hund slab inscription of the time of Jayapāladeva¹⁶ is detailed and possesses some literary value indicating the state of Sanskrit learning in this part of the country in the 10th century. The inscription consists of twelve verses all except two in *Śloka* metre. The other two are in the *Upajāti-Indravajrā* and *Indravajrā* metres respectively. It contains an exquisite description of *Udabhāṇḍapura*, the famous capital of the Śāhis and of the river Indus on the right bank of which the city was situated.

In the following verse in *Upajāti-Indravajrā* metre *Udabhāṇḍapura* is compared to Meru on account of its having been made their home by the learned men just as the latter was made their residing place by the immortal gods and other super natural beings.¹⁷

अस्त्युत्तरेणाखिलपुण्यराशेः नाम्नोदभाण्डं जगतीह सिन्धोः
विद्वज्जनैर्यश्च विधाय संघं कृतास्पदं मेरुरिवमराधैः ॥

Again the city is compared to the Malaya mountain, the former being served on its southern side by the waters of the Indus in the same way as the latter's side by the waters of the (western) ocean.¹⁸

सेवते यस्य सततं विभागं दक्षिणं नदी ।
पाद्वं मलयशैलस्यवेला वारिनिधेरिव ॥

On the days of the lunar and solar eclipses the pious people of Gandhāra as in the other parts of the country desirous of earning religious merit used to have a dip in the sacred waters of the Indus. The phenomenon of the eclipse is described in the conventional manner by the poet attributing the same to the forcible seizure of the moon and the sun by the demon (Rāhu) as if to bring them together.¹⁹

यत्र सिन्धुस्सदा लोकैस्सेव्यते पुण्यहेतुना ।
सन्निहित्येव चन्द्राकौ बलाद्गृह्णति दानवे ॥

The depiction of the pitiable condition of the women of the defeated enemy especially their not braiding the hair owing to separation from their husbands is a favourite theme with the Sanskrit poets. In the following verse we have the same depiction of the wailing of the women folk of the enemies destroyed by king Bhīmadeva.²⁰

यस्य नार्यस्सपत्नानां केशपाशं निरोदधि (?) ।
कवरी रचनाहीनं वहन्त्यद्यापिदुःखितः ॥
यस्य वैरिविलासिन्यो निर्यान्त्यो नगरादिह ।
इदमूचुर्महोद्यानं कु (?) तो नस्संगतं त्वया ॥

Our last record from Gandhāra, viz., the Peshawar museum inscription of Vanhaḍaka, dated Laukika 538 or A.D. 1461²¹ presents the last vestige of the Sanskrit learning in this part of the country. From the number of mistakes of language and grammar noticed in this record it would appear that the Sanskrit learning in this land of *Pāṇini* was generally on decline.

The benedictory verse of the inscription in *Āryā* metre containing several mythological allusions like the destruction of Madhu, Murā and Naraka by Viṣṇu and the churning of the ocean is quoted below:

अतसीनवकुस्म (सुम) निभं मन्दरदरिवर्तघृष्टकेयूरम् ।
अपहरतु दुरितमखिलं मधुमुनरकारिवा (वा) ह्युगम् ॥

“May the pair of arms of the enemy of Madhu, Murā and Naraka, (i.e. Viṣṇu) turn away all evil, that which is like a fresh *atasī* flower (and) the bracelets of which were rubbed at the turning of (the mountain) Mandāra (in the churning of the ocean).”

A few mistakes betraying the author's lack of sound knowledge of Sanskrit language and grammar, noticed in the inscription are: *Kusma* for *Kusuma*, *ṛmśadhike* for *ṛmśādhiḥ*, *kārtika* for *kārttika*, *Īṣvaram-udīśya* for *Īṣvaram-uddīśya* and *bhavat* for *bhavatu*.

REFERENCES

1. Deambi, *Śārada Inscriptions*, No. 6, pp. 107ff., No. 8, pp. 113ff., No. 9, pp. 119ff.
2. *Antiquities*, pp. 152ff.
3. *Ibid.*, 209ff.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 214ff.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 159ff.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 202ff.
8. *EI*. Vol. I, pp. 97ff.
9. In *Praśasti* No. II, verse 37, Rāma describes himself to have composed the *Praśastis* in his first youth (*prathamavayasi*).
10. *Ibid.*

11. *Praśasti* No. 1, verse 7.
12. *Ibid.*, No. II, verse 3.
13. *Ibid.*, verse 10.
14. *Ibid.*, No. I, verse 6.
15. *Ibid.*, No. II, verse 14.
16. *Journal of Central Asia*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 71 ff.
17. *Praśasti* No. II, verse 3, p. 72.
18. *Ibid.*, verse 4.
19. *Ibid.*, verse 5.
20. *Ibid.*, verses 9, 10.
21. *EI*. Vol. X, pp. 80-81.

CHAPTER VIII

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Our inscriptions do not furnish geographical information of outstanding importance. However, some of them do contain names of some ancient villages and districts and occasionally of rivers which are of considerable geographical importance. We discuss below these names in the alphabetical order.

Aḍasara

It is mentioned in the Harsar (District Chamba) image inscription,¹ as the place where a Śiva temple was erected by two private individuals Gangu and Kisanu. It is identical with the modern village of Harsar in the Bharamaor pargana of district Chamba in Himachal Pradesh, situated 10 miles from Bharamaor on the road which leads to Lahul by the Kukti pass.

Avanti

It is mentioned in the Śāradā inscription from Hund (District Attock) of the year 154² where an architect (*navakarmapati*) Jayantarāja is described as *Avantika* or belonging to *Avanti*. *Avanti*, frequently mentioned in literature, is the ancient name of Malwa in Madhya Pradesh. Its ancient capital was *Ujjayini*, modern Ujjain.

Bhadravarma

It is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa as the village where a piece of land donated by king Soma-varman was situated.³ Its name is

preserved in the modern village of Bhadrana in the Rajnagar pargana of district Chamba, situated 6 miles by road and 2½ miles by a bridle-path to the north of Chamba town on the Chamba-Tisa Road. In the 11th century, it belonged to the *Tāvasaka-maṇḍala* (discussed below) and seems to have been a district head quarter as it contained a state granary from which one *Khārī* of grain was allotted annually by Soma-varman to the Viṣṇu temple founded by Mahārāja-putra Pāsaṭa.

Bhadrāvakāśa

It is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa.⁴ A portion of land donated by king Soma-varman and situated at Bhadravarma noted above, is stated to have been previously occupied by certain Vijjaula who belonged to *Bhadrāvakāśa*. *Bhadrāvakāśa* is the ancient name of the hill district now known as Bhadravah, in the Jammu province of the Jammu and Kashmir state. It is situated 60 miles to the north-east of Jammu and 64 miles to the north west of the present town of Chamba. It is mentioned only once in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*⁵ as the place of retreat of an exiled noble Sahasramaṅgala during the reign of king Sussala. According to Stein it appears to have been a dependency of Chamba in ancient days as it was in the recent centuries, since the ruler of Bhadravah is nowhere referred to in Kalhaṇa's lists of hill Rājas.⁶

Bhaṭṭāra

It is mentioned as the name of a *maṇḍala* or district, in the Thundu (Hol-Gudyal Pargana, Chamba) copper plate inscription of Āsaṭa⁷. It was here that king Āsaṭa donated some lands. According to Vogel⁸ *Bhaṭṭāra* corresponds to the present Holgudyal paragona of district Chamba where some fifteen villages are said to be still indicated by the ancient name. The local goddess is known as *Bhaṭṭāra-devī-Sītālā* and a pilgrimage to her shrine is called *Bhaṭṭāra-jātrā* (*Yātrā*).

Bhuvaneśa

It is mentioned in the Khonamuh stone slab inscription of

the reign of Zain-ul-Ābidīn.⁹ It is described as a place situated half a *yojanā* below Harṣeśvara, where certain ascetic named Gammatīsodaka practiced penance. This place is now known as Bhuvaneśvarī situated on the slope of the hill of Harṣeśvara, about 1½ miles to the north of the village of Khonamuh and visited on way to the sacred *tīrtha* of Harṣeśvara. It derives its name from a locally flowing underground spring called Bhuvaneśvarī and described in the inscription as *svarnadī* or a divine stream.

Bindukā

It figures in the Baijnath *Prāśastis* (No. II, I. 10) as the name of a river flowing in the village Kīrāgrāma.¹⁰ It is identical with the modern Binu, a hill stream flowing to the east of the present town of Baijnath (ancient Kīrāgrāma) in the Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh.

Brahmapura

It is mentioned in the copper plate charter of king Yugākara-varman of Chamba as a *maṇḍala* or district in which the lands granted by him were situated.¹¹ It is identified with the modern village of Bharamaor situated 42 miles to the south-east of Chamba town. It lies on a ridge which rises to the north of the river Budhal. It was the ancient capital of Chamba and remained the seat of government of the early rulers of Chamba till the 10th century A.D., when the new capital of Chamba was founded by king Sāhilla-varman. It is a place of considerable archaeological interest and has yielded a few brass images of exquisite craftsmanship which according to the inscriptions¹² incised on them were erected by king Meru-varman who ruled over Chamba sometime in the 8th century.

Brahmapura is also mentioned in the literature. In the *Br̥hat-Saṁhitā*¹³ it is mentioned among the countries of the north-eastern region along with Kīra, Kaśmīra, Abhisāra, Darada, Kulūta, Darva, Dāmara and others. It is very likely as pointed by Vogel,¹⁴ that here the ancient principality of

Bharamaor is meant. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the *Brahmaurakas* are mentioned in the same connection.¹⁶

Caṇpakā

The name occurs in the *Brahmaor* (Baramaor of the maps) copper plate grant of *Yugākara-varman*,¹⁶ the *Sungal* copper plate inscription of *Vidagdha*,¹⁷ the *Kulait* copper plate grant of *Soma-varman*,¹⁸ the *Chamba* copper plate grant of *Soma-varman* and *Āsaṭa*¹⁹ and *Thundu* copper plate grant of *Āsaṭa*.²⁰ These charters describe *Caṇpakā* as the royal residence from where they were issued. It is to be inferred that it was the capital during the rule of the *Varman* dynasty of *Chamba* from *Yugākara-varman* onwards. The capital of the earlier rulers of the dynasty, as pointed out above, was *Brahmapura* or modern *Bharamaor*. This new capital of *Caṇpakā* is traditionally believed to have been founded by king *Sāhilla-varman* of *Chamba* who ruled in the 10th century. The tradition seems to be based on fact since the copper plate grants of the immediate successors of *Sāhilla*, viz., *Yugākara-varman* and *Vidagdha* were issued from *Caṇpakā* as the seat of Government. The name *Caṇpakā* seems to have been preserved in that of the modern town of *Chamba*, the headquarter of the district of the same name in *Himachal Pradesh*.

A country named *Campā* is mentioned by *Kalhana* in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.²¹ That his *Campā* is the same as *Caṇpakā* of our copper plate grants is proved by the following evidence.

In the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* vii, 218 it is stated that king *Ananta* of *Kashmir* uprooted king *Sāla* of *Campā* and placed a new ruler on the throne. This king *Sāla* of *Campā* is identified, as seen above²² with the king *Sālavāhana* of *Caṇpakā* mentioned in the *Kulait* copper plate grant of *Soma-varman*²³ and *Chamba* copper plate grant of *Soma-varman* and *Āsaṭa*²⁴ as the father and predecessor of king *Soma-varman* and in the *Thundu* copper plate grant as the father and predecessor of king *Āsaṭa* (brother of *Soma-varman*).²⁵ This shows *Caṇpakā* and *Campā* are identical.

Again in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* vii, 588, *Āsaṭa*, king of *Campā* is mentioned among the eight hill chiefs who appeared in the

court of king Kalaśa of Kashmir (A.D. 1063-1089) to pay him tribute. This king is identical with Āsaṭa of *Caṇpakā* mentioned in the Chamba and Thundu copper plate grants referred to above. This also shows that *Campā* and *Caṇpakā* are the same.

In the copper plate grants of Chamba belonging to the 13th and the subsequent centuries,²⁶ the name *Caṇpakā* occurs in the form *Campakā*—letter *ṇ* having changed into *m* owing to the Vernacular influence. This form accounts for the form *Campā* of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and it is from the latter form that the modern form Chamba is derived.

Dhaullika

It is mentioned in the Chamba grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa as the place where Soma-varman granted lands to a Viṣṇu temple.²⁷ Its name is preserved in the modern hamlet of *Dholi* in the Sāch pargana of district Chamba. It is situated quite opposite the Chamba town on the left steep bank of the Ravi.

Durgara

This name occurs in the Kulait copper plate grant of Soma-varman²⁸ and the Chamba copper plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa-varman.²⁹ It is mentioned in connection with the campaign of Sāhilla-varman of Chamba against the confederate forces of the Saumaṭikas, the Kīras and the Lord of Durgara. *Durgara* is the modern land of Dugar also called Jammu situated between the two rivers, the Jehlum and the Ravi. According to Dr. Gauri Shankar³⁰ *Durgara* or *Ḍugar* was originally the name of an indigenous clan or tribe which inhabited the sub-mountainous region comprising that part of the State of Jammu which is situated between the river Ravi and the Chinab to the south of the Pir Panjal range and to the north of Sialkot and Jehlum districts of the Panjab, now in Pakistan.

Drew³¹ takes the traditional Sanskrit word *Dvigarta* as the original form of the modern name Dugar. But as pointed out by Stein³² it is nowhere found in the historical texts and seems to have been concocted on the analogy of the ancient name *Trigarta*. The original form of the name appears to be *Durgara* as mentioned in our inscriptions.

Gaṅgeśvara

This name figures in the Arigom (Kashmir) stone slab inscription³³ as the site of a wooden shrine erected by certain Vaidya Ulhanadeva to house an image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. This name is preserved in modern Gānīśvar, a small locality in the Arigom village of Nagam pargana in Kashmir. That the ancient name too was known to the local pandits as late as A.D. 1862-63 is shown by the mention of it in a horoscope issued by certain Gaṇeśa Khusrao in the A.D. 1862-63 to a resident of Arigom who is there described as "living in Arigom at the feet of *Gaṅgeśvara*".³⁴ Sten Konow remarks that *Gaṅgeśvara* must have originally been the name of a Śiva temple which must have stood here.³⁵

Ghalahaṇa

It is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate grant of Somavarman and Āsaṭa.³⁶ It is described as a village which belonged to the *Pānthila maṇḍala* and where a portion of land donated by Soma-varman was situated. It appears to be the ancient name of the modern village of Ghalun belonging to the Pañjilā pargana and situated 5 miles east of the town of Chamba on a ridge on the left bank of the Saho stream. It is a mile's trek from *Miredi*, a village, situated 3 miles to the east of Chamba town on the Chamba-Saho road.

Grima

It figures as the name of a village in the Brahmor (Chamba) copper plate grant of Yugākara-varman³⁷ where the lands granted by Yugākara-varman were situated. It belonged to *Brahmapura-maṇḍala*. It is identical with the modern village of the same name, belonging to the Bharamaor pargana of district Chamba and situated above the village of *Barei* on the ridge which separates the valleys of the Ravi and the Budhal. It is passed by the mule road which leads from Bharamaor to Trehta, a tract on the left bank of the upper Ravi.³⁸

Harṣeśvara

It is mentioned in the Khonamuh stone slab inscription, referred to above.³⁹ Its name is preserved in modern *Harishvar*, a famous place of pilgrimage lying on the summit of a ridge to the north of the village Khonamuh. The object of worship here is a *Svayambhu liṅga* enshrined in a small cave and the pilgrimage to the sacred shrine is performed annually on the fullmoon day of the month of *Śrāvaṇa*. The place is fully described in the *Harṣeśvara Māhātmya*.

Jālandhara

It is mentioned in the Baijnath *Praśastis*⁴⁰ as a kingdom the sovereignty of whose kings was acknowledged by the local chiefs of *Kīrāgrāma*. Its name is now preserved in the present town and district of Jalandhar in Punjab. It has been used in the *Praśastis* as a synonym of *Trigarta* and will be discussed in detail subsequently.

Jiṣṭhaludra

It is described in the Hariparbat (Srinagar) grave stone inscription of the reign of Muhammad Shah, as the place, where certain Said-Khan son of Aibrahm fell in a battle.⁴¹ In the Persian epigraph accompanying the present record, containing the same contents, the name given is *Takht-i-Sulaiman* which would show that *Jiṣṭhaludra* and *Takht-i-Sulaiman* are the same. The latter is the Persian designation of the modern hill of Śaṅkarācārya situated to the south-east of Srinagar, and *Jiṣṭhaludra* of our inscription would evidently denote the same. The place is mentioned in the form of *Jyeṣṭharudra* in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*⁴² and described as a shrine erected by king Jalauka at Srinagar. This shrine has not yet been definitely identified. Stein⁴³ points out that the shrine is to be located somewhere near the present hill of Śaṅkarācārya. Our inscription would show how in the 15th century (the date of the inscription is A.D. 1484), the name *Jyeṣṭhaludra* or *Jyeṣṭharudra* was applied to the hill itself. The same is corroborated by the *Mahādevamāhātmya* where *Jyeṣṭharudra* has been used in two passages to denote the present hill of Śaṅkarācārya.⁴⁴

In the same inscription, we find mention of another place named *Hājara*. But owing to the fragmentary condition of the inscription, it is not clear as to in what connection it is mentioned. Its identification is as such difficult. Marshall (*Note*, p. 18, fn. 4) feels inclined to identify it with Hazara in the Peshawar district of West Pakistan.

Kaśyapādri

It is mentioned in the Parepur (district Kupwara, Kashmir) fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Hasan Shah.⁴⁵ Owing to the fragmentary and the defaced condition of the inscription it is not known in what connection it is mentioned. Its identification is, as such, difficult. This name is not known from any other source. Literally it would mean Kaśyapa hill. It is likely that it denotes the very hill on the slope of which the inscribed stone is now lying (see below).

Kedāra

It is mentioned in the Baijnath *Praśasti* No. I as a place of pilgrimage visited by Lakṣamaṇacandra, the chief of Kīragrāma (modern Baijnath).⁴⁶ It is undoubtedly the celebrated *tīrtha* of *Kedāranātha* widely mentioned in literature and situated in the Garhwal district of Uttar Pradesh. It lies below the peak of Mahāpantha on the west of Badrinath. The object of worship here is an image of Mahādeva Kedāranātha which is said to have been established by Arjuna, the famous Pāṇḍava. The river Kali-Ganga takes its rise from this place and joins the Alakanandā at the Rudra-prayag.⁴⁷

Khani

It occurs in the Brahmor (Baramaor of the maps) copper plate grant of Yugākara-varman as the name of a hospice (*maṭha*) belonging to the village of *Viḍvikā* in the *Brahmapura* district.⁴⁸ This name is still preserved in modern *Khani* a village in the Bharamaor (ancient *Brahmapura*) pargana of district Chamba in Himachal Pradesh. It is a short distance from *Barei*, ancient *Viḍvikā* described below, and is situated on a ridge to the east

of the confluence of the Ravi and the Budhal on the Durghathi Bharamaor road.

Khonamośa

It is mentioned in the Khonamuh stone slab inscription of 1429 A.D.⁴⁹ It is described as an *agrahāra*, donated by king Khagendra, where a hermitage was constructed by certain Pūrṇaka. Its name is now preserved in the modern village of Khonamuh situated nine miles to the south-east of Srinagar 75° 1' longitude and 35° 1' latitude. This place is also mentioned in the *Rājataragṇī*⁵⁰ and described as an *agrahāra* established by king Khagendra. It shows that even in the 15th century, the place continued to be regarded as an *agrahāra* donated by Khagendra. The form of the name given in the *Rājataragṇī* is 'Khonamuśa' which appears to be the correct form from which the modern Khonamuh is derived. Khonamuh is the famous birth place of Kashmiri poet Bilhana, author of the *Vikramāṇikadevacarita*, who enthusiastically sings the charms of his home village in his celebrated work and describes it as situated in the vicinity of *Jayavana*, modern *Zevan* (one mile to the west of Khonamuh) and famous for its grape and saffron cultivation.⁵¹

Kīrāgrāma

It is mentioned in the *Baijnath Prāśasti* No. II and described as a village belonging to the kingdom of Trigarta and where flows a river named *Bindukā*.⁵² It is the ancient name of the modern town of Baijnath in the Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh, situated on the south bank of the *Binnu* stream which represents the *Bindukā* of the inscription. The ancient name is lost and the modern name is due to the chief temple of Vaidyanātha (now called Baijnath) which according to the *Prāśastis*, was erected here in the 13th century by two merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka, who belonged to the same village. *Kīrāgrāma* seems to have been a settlement of the famous Kīra tribe frequently mentioned in literature.⁵³ In the 13th century, it was the seat of a Rānā named Lakṣamaṇacandra who owed allegiance to the king of Trigarta. His predecessors had earlier held it for seven generations as vassals of the kings of Trigarta or Jālandhara.⁵⁴

Kiṣkindhikā

It is mentioned in the Sarahan *Praśasti* as the seat of a Rānā whose daughter Somaprabhā was married to a ruling chief named Sātyaki.⁵⁵ The identification of this place name is uncertain. Vogel feels inclined to identify it with *Kiṣkindhā* mentioned in the Svaim inscription of Rājānaka Bhogaṭa, as the name of a district where Bhogaṭa was born.⁵⁶ This inscription records the erection of an image of goddess Pārvatī by Rājānaka Bhogaṭa. The image is still preserved in the village temple of Svaim in the erstwhile *Himgiri* pargana. It would seem that the principality of Bhogaṭa comprised the tract round Svaim corresponding roughly to the *Himgiri* pargana. Vogel⁵⁷ proposes to identify *Kiṣkindhā* of the Svaim inscription and *Kiṣkindhikā* of our inscription with this pargana of *Himgiri*. If this identification be true, it would seem that the Rānā of *Himgiri* married his daughter Somaprabhā to Sātyaki who ruled over the neighbouring principality of Saho of which Sarahan, a small village, formed a part.

Himgiri is now a small village which belongs to the Churah sub-division of district Chamba in the Himachal Pradesh.

Kulikagoṣṭha

It occurs in the Kulait (District Chamba) copper plate inscription of Soma-varman as the name of a village where the lands donated by Soma-varman were situated, and which belonged to the district or *maṇḍala* of *Trighaṭṭaka*.⁵⁸ Vogel⁵⁹ identifies it with the modern village of Kulait (Kolait of the maps) situated in the Trehta pargana (*Trighaṭṭaka* of the inscription) 2 1/2 miles below the modern village of Dyol. The name would suggest that it was a settlement (*goṣṭha*) of *Kulikas* a tribe often mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions along with the *Khaśas*.⁶⁰

Kulūta

It is mentioned in the Kulait copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and the Chamba copper plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa.⁶¹ Its ruler figures in these inscriptions as an

ally of king Sāhilla-varman of Chamba. It is the ancient name of the modern hill district of Kullu in the Himachal Pradesh. It is referred to by Hiuen-Tsiang in his itinerary and is placed by him at 700 li or 117 miles to the north-east of *Jālandhara*⁶² which exactly corresponds with its present position.⁶³ It is widely mentioned in literature⁶⁴ as an ancient kingdom which is said to have included, besides the present district, Mandi and Sukhet on the west and a large tract of territory to the south of the Satlej.⁶⁵ In the 10th century, its king according to the inscriptions referred to above, owed allegiance to the Sāhilla-varman of Chamba and was an ally of the latter in his fight against the confederate forces of the Kīras, the Saumatikas and of the lord of Durgara. This ancient hill district has yielded a few inscriptions, one of which probably belongs to the Gupta period and all others to the 16th and the following centuries.⁶⁶

Kurukṣetra

This name occurs in the Sungal (district Chamba) copper plate grant of Vidagdha, the Kulait copper plate grant of Somavarman and the Chamba copper plate inscription of Somavarman and Āsaṭa.⁶⁷ In the Sungal copper plate grant it is described as a sacred place of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*) from where the donee of the grant hailed. In the two other charters it figures as a sacred place where king Sāhilla-varman donated a large number of elephants on the occasion of solar eclipse in order to propitiate god Bhāskara. It is identical with the famous place of *Kurukṣetra* connected with the Mahābhārata War, still known by its ancient name and situated in the Thanesar tehsil of the Karnal district in the Haryana State. It still continues to be a famous place of pilgrimage and attracts large number of pilgrims on the occasion of the solar eclipse to have a dip in the holy lake situated to the south of the present town. It is widely mentioned in literature⁶⁸ and according to the *Mahābhārata*⁶⁹ it was situated between the *Sarasvatī* on the north and the *Dr̥ṣadvatī* on the south.⁷⁰

Madra

It occurs in the Kotiher stone slab inscription⁷¹ as the name

of a people whose country was conquered by Sultan *Shihāb-ud-Dīn*.⁷³ *Madras* are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as allies of Kaurvas and their king Śalya figures as the commander-in-chief of the Kaurava army.⁷³ The *Madra-deśa* or the country of the *Madras* lay in the Panjab, extending according to some, from the Beas to the Chinab.⁷⁴ *Madra-deśa* seems to have extended in north southerly direction from the foot hills between the Beas and the Chinab up to Multan district in West Pakistan. In the *Karna-parva* of the *Mahābhārata* the country of the *Madras* is described as full of forests of *Śami*, *Pīlu* and *Karīra*.⁷⁵ The forests of these trees are fairly common in the belt in which the districts of Multan, Montgomery, Lyallpur etc. lie. This implies that these districts were included in the *Madra* territory. The capital of *Madra-deśa* was *Sākala*, identified with modern Sialkot,⁷⁶ which stood on the bank of the *Apagā* stream identified with modern Aik, a small stream which has its rise in the Jammu hills to the north-east of Sialkot.⁷⁷ During the rule of the Sultans in the 13th and the subsequent centuries, *Madra-deśa* was a feudatory state of the Kashmir kings, some of whom married the daughters of the Hindu chiefs of this state.⁷⁸

Mukuṭa

It is mentioned in the Tur (district Chamba) image inscription of Rājānaka Thakkika.⁷⁹ It is described as a seat of a feudatory chief (*Sāmanta*) named Dhara, the progenitor of the house to which the donor of the image, Thakkika belonged. Its identification is uncertain. It may be, as pointed out by Vogel,⁸⁰ the ancient name of the modern village of Tur—the find spot of the inscription—in the Basu pargana of Chamba district in Himachal Pradesh.

Muṅgalā

It occurs in the Chamba copper plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa as the name of a village where a portion of land donated by Soma-varman was situated.⁸¹ Its name is preserved in the modern village of *Mugalā* in the Panjila pargana of district Chamba, situated two miles south-east of Chamba town on the Chamba Bharamor road.

Maṅgala

It is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa⁸² along with *Muṅgalā* noted above and in the same connection. It is undoubtedly the modern village of the same name situated on the road which leads from Chamba town to Khajar in the Kangra district. It lies opposite the present town of Chamba on the left bank of the Ravi and is included in the Sach pargana of district Chamba in the Himachal Pradesh.

Navagrāma-draṅga

It is mentioned in the Peshawar museum inscription of Vanhaḍaka as the place to which the architect (*Sthāpati*) Singāli Kargi belonged.⁸³ The find spot of the inscription is unknown and Sten Konow, who has edited the inscription, observes, "so long as the origin of the inscription is not known, it is hopeless to identify *Navagrāma-draṅga*."⁸⁴ However, it may be pointed out in this connection that the term *Draṅga* occurs several times in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* with the names of several localities and in all cases signifies a watch station established near mountain passes for the double purpose of guarding the approaches to the Valley (Kashmir) and collecting the customs revenue.⁸⁵ It seems likely that *Navagrāma-draṅga* of our inscription also signifies such a watch station and lay near some mountain pass.

Navagrāma

It is mentioned in the Baijnath *Prastāvi* No.I.⁸⁶ It figures as the name of a village where a certain Brāhmaṇa named Gapeśvara and resident of Kīrāgrāma possessed some lands out of which he donated half a plough to the Śiva temple. It is still known by its ancient name and is situated to the south of the modern town of Baijnath.

Pāṅgatī

It is mentioned in the Salhi fountain inscription of Rājānaka Ludrapāla⁸⁷ and in the Bento Puhali fountain inscription.⁸⁸ In the former it is mentioned in connection with the mention of

some officials who were in charge of *Pāṅgatī* at the time a fountain slab was put up by Rani Delhā, the wife of Rānā Ludrapāla. In the latter, its significance is not clear, the inscription being written in very corrupt Sanskrit. It is evidently the ancient name of the modern division of Pangti to the north-east of Chamba. It is a famous summer tourist resort of the Himachal Pradesh and has yielded the largest number of inscribed fountain slabs.

Pāñthila

The Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa mentions *Pāñthila* as the name of a district or *maṇḍala* to which belonged the villages *Kuloṭi* (unidentified), *Muṅgalā* (identified with Mugala see above) and *Vāṭa* (identified with Bat, see below) where the lands donated by Soma-varman were situated.⁸⁹ It is the ancient name of the modern pargana of Panjila in Chamba district, comprising the hill tract between the right bank of the Ravi and the left bank of the Sal river. The present town of Chamba is included in this pargana.

Pārakamaṭa

It occurs in the Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa as the name of a district or *maṇḍala* to which belonged the villages *Maṅgala*, (identified above with the modern village of the same name) and *Ḍhaullikā* (identified with Dholi), where some lands donated by Soma-varman were situated.⁹⁰ Its exact identification is difficult. Vogel, taking the first part of the word in its literal sense meaning 'on the other side' identifies it with the modern pargana of Sach situated on the opposite side of the present town of Chamba and to which both Mangala and Dholi now belong.⁹¹ However, there is a small village of Paraunta above the village Mangala and it is not unlikely that it represents the ancient district of *Pārakamaṭa* just as the modern village of Tausa represents the ancient district of *Tāvasaka* (see below).

Pralamba

A village of this name is mentioned in the Baijnath *Prasasti* No. II (1.27) in connection with the donations made by various

individuals to the Śiva temple.⁹² It is stated that the queen mother *Lakṣaṇā* held an estate here out of which she donated half a plough to the Śiva temple. It seems to be the ancient name of the modern town of Palampur in the Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh, famous for its tea cultivation.

Salhi

It is mentioned in the Salhi fountain inscription of Rājānaka Ludrapāla as the latter's place of residence.⁹³ It is still known by its ancient name and is situated in Pangi in Himachal Pradesh, seven miles from Sach where the Sechu stream flows into the Chinab.

Sarāhula

It occurs in the Chamba copper plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa as the name of a village which belonged to the *Tāvasaka* maṇḍala, (discussed below) and which contained a portion of lands donated by Soma-varman.⁹⁴ Its name is preserved in the modern village of Sarol situated 6 miles by road and 2 miles by ancient bridle path to the north of Chamba town on the Chamba-Tisa road. It is now included in the Rajanagar pargana.

Śrīchīrī

It is mentioned in the Dacchan (district Doda, Jammu) inscription of the reign of Nanta-deva (Anantadeva) as the place of residence of certain Mahimagupta who got constructed a bridge (*setu*) in Dacchan.⁹⁵ The bridge is now represented by modern cantilever bridge which spans the Marev-Send, on the left bank of which Dacchan is situated. The identification of the locality *Śrīchīrī* is uncertain. Mr. R. C. Kak tentatively identifies it with modern Kiar, a *nai* or glen in the immediate vicinity of Dacchan.⁹⁶

Sumaṅgala

It is mentioned in Sungal copper plate grant of Vidagdha as the name of a village which belonged to *Tāvasaka-maṇḍala* and

where some lands were granted by king Vidagdha to a certain Brāhmaṇa Nanduka.⁹⁷ This is apparently the ancient name of modern village of Sungal situated two and a half miles to the north-east of Chamba town on the slope of a hill above the village Ludera on the Chamba-Saho road. It is a short distance from the village Tausa situated on the other side of the hill, which probably as will be seen below, represents the ancient *maṇḍala* or district of *Tāvasaka*.

Suśarmapura

In the Baijnath *Prāśasti* No. I (ll. 27-28) we read of a certain astrologer named Ralhaṇa who donated two *droṇas* of land to the Śiva temple erected by the two merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka and who belonged to the *Suśarmapura*.⁹⁸ In the same *Prāśasti* (11.30-31) we again read of an architect named Nāyaka who came to *Kīragrāma* from *Suśarmanagara* and fashioned and constructed the Śiva temple.⁹⁹ It would seem that *Suśarmapura* and *Suśarmanagara* denote the same place.

Suśarmapura is mentioned in a passage in the *Rājatarāṅginī* of Jonarāja¹⁰⁰ which relates that during an expedition of Shihābud-Dīn of Kashmir (A.D. 1354/55-73) "the Rājā of *Suśarmapura* out of fear forsook the pride of his fort and found refuge with the goddess." The Persian chronicles give *Nagarkoṭ* in place of *Suśarmapura* in the same context.¹⁰¹ Since *Nagarkoṭ* is the ancient name of modern Kangra famous for its fort, it would appear that *Suśarmapura* is identical with the present town of Kangra and owes its name to *Suśarma-candra* who, as seen above, figures as the famous ancestor of the Katoch family of *Trigarta* or *Jālandhara*, who fought on the side of the Kaurvas in the Great War.¹⁰²

Tāvasaka

It is mentioned in the Sungal copper plate grant of king Vidagdha and the Chamba copper plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa as the name of a district or *maṇḍala* to which belonged the villages *Sumaṅgala*, *Bhadravarma* and *Sarāhula*.¹⁰³ *Bhadravarma* and *Sarāhula* have been identified above with Bhadram and Sarol, respectively, situated to the north of the Chamba town on the right bank of the Ravi. *Sumaṅgala*, as

seen above, is modern Sungal lying to the east of the Chamba town on the right bank of the Sal river. It would follow, that the ancient district of *Tāvasaka* comprised an extensive tract between the right bank of the Ravi and the right bank of the Sal river. Some portions of this ancient district are now included in the Rajnagar pargana and some in the Gudyal pargana. The ancient name seems to be preserved in the modern village of Tausa situated on the slope of the hill, facing the Ravi, above the villages of Bhadram and Sarol. Sungal is a short distance from it and is situated on the other side of the hill facing the Sal. Tausa is conveniently reached by a hill track which starts from Kiani, a village 9 miles to the north of Chamba town on the Chamba-Tisa road.

The Chamba copper plate grant mentions three more villages (?) as belonging to the *Tāvasaka maṇḍala*. They are: *Dhalpaka*, *Lartuka* and *Yaudhaka*. None of these is traceable now. *Lartuka* may be modern Laddi, a small hamlet in the vicinity of Tausa.

Trighaṭṭaka

A *maṇḍala* or district of this name is mentioned in the Kulait (district Chamba) copper plate grant of Soma-varman,¹⁰⁴ to which belonged the village *Kulika-goṣṭha* where some lands were donated by king Soma-varman to a certain Brāhman Bhaṭṭarahasa. It has been identified by Vogel¹⁰⁵ with the Trehta pargana on the upper Ravi. The village *Kulikagoṣṭha* is identified with Kulait situated in the same pargana 2 1/2 miles below Dyol. The name *Trighaṭṭaka*, according to Vogel,¹⁰⁶ points to the existence of three *ghaṭṭakas* or passes. "There are in reality", remarks he, "three roads which lead from this part of the Ravi Valley across the Dhaula Dhar into Kangra. Their names are Alaka-da-ghat, Surai-da-ghat and Sarali-da-ghat. The one first mentioned leads to Bhagsu-Dharamsala, the other two to Palampur."¹⁰⁷

Trigarta

It is mentioned in the Baijnath *Praśastis* as the name of a kingdom which was ruled in the 13th century by king Jayac-

chandra (Jaya-candra) whose overlordship was acknowledged by the ruling chief of *Kīragrāma* (Baijnath) named Lakṣamaṇa-candra.¹⁰⁸ It has been used as a synonym of *Jālandhara*. In the *Prasasti* No. II (1.6) Jayacchandra is called "the supreme king of *Jālandhara*" where as further on in the same *Prasasti* (11.20-2) the suzerains of *Kīragrāma* are designated "Kings of Trigarta". It thus follows that in the 13th century when the *Prasastis* were composed, both *Trigarta* and *Jālandhara* were used as names of the same country. *Trigarta* as pointed out above, was a great kingdom which at the time of its greatest expansion comprised all the territory between the Satlej and the Ravi in the outer hills and the *Jālandhara* Doab in the plains.¹⁰⁹ At a later period, however, it came to denote only the Kangra region and as *Trigadh* was in use for the Kangra State till early 19th century.¹¹⁰ A detailed history of *Trigarta* has already been discussed above and we may here in quote the opinions of Vogel and Hutchison regarding the name *Trigarta*. "The name *Trigarta*" remark the said scholars, "may be translated" the three valleys," the word "*garta*" meaning a "hole" or "pit" or "deep hollow place" with or without water and therefore a very appropriate term to apply to the deeply cut valleys of the tributaries of the Bias. Thus probably the State came to be called *Trigarta*.¹¹¹

Udbhāṇḍapura

Udbhāṇḍapura is mentioned in the Hund slab inscription of the time of Jayapāladeva as the seat of the government of king Bhīma, situated to the north of the river Indus.¹¹² The place is mentioned in a few passages in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. Thus in VII. 1080 it is described as the capital of the Śāhī king Bhīma; in V. 153 it is mentioned as the capital city of the Śāhī king Lalliya and in V. 232 it is described as the seat of power of Śāhis vanquished by the Utpala king Gopālavarmaṇ of Kashmir. The place also finds mention in Jonarāja's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (verse 372) where it is stated to have been captured by Sultan Shihāb-u-dīn during his campaign in *Gandhāra*.

The aforecited descriptions of the place would show that *Udbhāṇḍapura* was the capital of the Śāhī rulers of *Gandhāra*. The capital of the Śāhis is repeatedly mentioned by

al-Bīrūnī¹¹³ under the name of *Waihand* which would show that *Waihand* was the popular or the Arabic name of *Udabhāṇḍapura*. Huen-Tsiang describes *U-to-kia-han-cha* or *Udakahāṇḍa* as rich city of Gandhāra bordered on the south by the river Sindh and the same also is taken to represent our *Udabhāṇḍapura*.

The ancient place is represented by the modern village of Hund also sometimes written as Und and Ohind situated on the right bank of the Indus fifteen miles above Attock. The present position of Hund exactly corresponds with that of *Udabhāṇḍapura* mentioned in our record. Most of our records from Gandhāra hail from this site.

Vajīrasthāna

It is mentioned in the Barikot (upper Swat) stone inscription of the reign of Jayapāla.¹¹⁴ The stone being broken at places it is not clear as to in what connection the place is mentioned. It seems from the extant portion of the inscription that some three individuals whose names are lost erected something here. It is probably represented by modern Waziristan in the Peshawar district of West Pakistan.

Vāta

It figures in the Chamba copper plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa as the name of a village where king Soma-varman donated some lands. It appears to be identical with the modern village of Bat situated 4 1/2 miles east of Chamba town on a ridge on the left bank of the Sal river and 1 1/2 miles above the village Miredi, situated 3 miles to the east of Chamba on the Chamba-Saho road.

Vidyikā

It is described in the Brahmor copper plate of Yugākara-varman as a village belonging to *Brahmapura* (identified with Bharamaor) *maṇḍala*. It seems to be the ancient name of the modern village of Barei in the Bharamor pargana of district Chamba.

RIVERS

Sindhu

Sindhu represented by modern Sind or the Indus is mentioned in the Hund slab inscription of the time of Jayapaladeva referred to above as a river to the north of which the city of *Udbhāṇḍa* was situated. It is described as the repository of all merit (*akhila-puṇya-rāśī*) and a sacred place of pilgrimage visited by people on the occasion of (Solar and Lunar) eclipses. Its cool waters provided soothing shelter to the rut elephants in the sweltering heat of the summer.¹¹⁵ The *Sindhu* or Indus along with the *Gaṅgā* and the *Yamunā* has been the river par excellence of the sub-continent and a witness to the rise and fall of several civilizations that grew along its banks right from the pre-historic periods.

Gaṅgā, Yamunā etc.

Our inscribed and elegantly carved fountain stones found in large numbers in Chamba generally contain the figures of the river goddesses *Gaṅgā* and the *Yamunā* with their respective *Vāhanas* the *makara* or the crocodile and *kūrma* or the tortoise. In the profusely carved fountain stone found at Salhi in Pangi we find besides the figures of the divinities, the figures of the five rivers of the Panjab, viz., *Śatudrī* or *Satlej*, *Vipāśā* or the *Beas*, *Asiknī* or the *Chinab*, *Iravatī* or the *Ravi* and *Vyatha* or the *Vitastā* or *Jhelum*.¹¹⁶ An interesting feature of the carvings is that the figures of the rivers are labelled thus obviating the difficulty on the part of the viewer to identify the figures engraved. It will be seen that the *Vitastā* is mentioned under its Kashmiri name *Vyath* which is extremely significant for herein we have the earliest mention of the Kashmiri name of the river

Svarnadī

It is mentioned in the *Khonamuh* inscription of the time of *Jayanolabadenaśāha* or *Zain-ul-Ābidīn* (A.D. 1429) as the celestial stream which removes all sin and flows near *Bluvaneśa* situated half a *Yojanā* below the shrine of god *Harṣeśvara*.¹¹⁷ It is undoubtedly as noted above the under-ground stream which issues

near the slope of a hill above the village of Khonamuh at a place locally known as Bhuvaneshvari (Bhavaneśa of our record). It is at the mouth of this stream that the stone containing our inscription stands.

Kaśyāpa-Sari

Kaśyāpa-Sari which may be restored as (*Kaśyapasari*) is mentioned along with *Kaśyapādri*, discussed above, in the Parepur (district Kupwara-Kashmir) stone inscription of the time of Hasana dated (*Laukika*) 52 or A.D. 1476.¹¹⁸ This name, however, is not borne by any river in Kashmir. It appears that the inscription contains mention of some sacred place of pilgrimage in the hills where the hill and the stream flowing therefrom were both held sacred to the sage Kaśyapa.

Our inscribed stone stands on the left bank of a stream flowing from the spring called Vasuki-Nag. The spring itself is at the foot of a hill. This spring like several others of this type in the Valley has been a famous place of pilgrimage. It is possible that the hill and the stream might have been associated with the name of sage Kaśyapa, the mythical founder of Kashmir, in the past.

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26. Published in *Antiquities of Chamba State* Vol. II.
27. *Op. cit.*, No. 25, pp. 187ff.
28. *Ibid.* No. 24, p. 184, text line 3.
29. *Ibid.* No. 25, p. 192. text lines 3-4.
30. *Some Aspects of Dogri Linguistics*-Paper read at the XXII Session of All India Oriental Conference held at Gauhati (Assam).
31. *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories.*, pp. 43, 44.
32. *R.T. Trans.* Vol. II, p. 432.
33. *EI*, IX p. 301, text line 2.
34. Sten Konow, *Note.*, p. 8.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Antiquities.*, No. 25p. 194, text line 31.
37. *Ibid.*, No. 14, p. 192, text line 8.
38. Cf. Vogel, *Ibid.*, p. 169.
39. *Op. cit.*, text line 4.
40. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 112, text line 7.
41. Dembi, *op. cit.*, No. 11, text line 2.
42. i, 124; Stein, *Trans. R.T.*, Vol. II, p. 289.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Cf. Stein. *trans. R.T.*, Vol. II, pp. 219-90.
45. Deambi, *op. cit.*, No. 10, text line 3.
46. *EI*, I, p. 107, text line 19.
47. Cf. N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary*, p. 45.
48. *Antiquities*, p. 162, text line 7.
49. *Op. cit.*, text line 2.
50. *R.T.I.* 90.
51. Cf. *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, XV, 70-72. The form of the name given in this work is *Khonamukha*. *Kh*, for *ṣ* is according to Bühler. due to the Jain copyist who pronounced *Ṣ* and *Kh* alike, see *Kashmir Report* p. 6. For an admirable description of the place and its topography as given by Bühler see *Ibid.*, pp. 4-7.
52. *EI.*, I. p. 114, text line 13.
53. See *supra* (chapter II)
53. *Ibid.*,
55. *Antiquities*, p. 156, text lines 3-4.
56. *Ibid.* p. 152.
57. *Ibid*

58. *Antiquities*, p. 185, text line 20.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 882.
60. *Supra* (Chapter II)
61. *Antiquities*, pp. 184, text line 4, and 193 text line 5.
62. Watters, *On Yuan-Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 203.
63. Cf. Cunningham, *Anc. Geo.*, p. 163.
64. For references in literature see B.C., Law, *Historical Geography*, p. 101.
65. Cf. *Anc. Geo.*, p. 163.
66. Cf. *ASI. Ann. Rep.* 1907-8, pp. 261ff.
67. *Antiquities*, No. 14, p. 167, text line 19; No. 24, p. 184, text line 19; No. 24, p. 184, text line 5; No. 25, p. 193, text line 5.
68. See *Hist. Geo.*, p. 101.
69. *Vana Parvan*, 5071-78, 7073-76.
70. For a detailed report of the place see James Doncel's *Gazetteer of Ambala District* (1892), pp. 42, 139ff.
71. Deambi *op. cit.*, Text line 13.
72. Text according to K.N. Shastri reads *Madrānām mahī jītā*.
73. See Sorencen's *Index to the Mahābhārata*.
74. Cunningham, *Anc. Geo.*, p. 212.
75. *Śamī-pīlu Karīrānām Vanēsu Sukha-vartmasu*.
76. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 49; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 24n.
77. *Śākalam-nāma nagaram-apagā nāma nimnagā*, *Mbh.*, Ka. pā. 44.10. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 212.
78. See below.
79. *Antiquities*, I., No. 17, p. 173, text line 2.
80. *Ibid.* p. 173.
81. *Ibid.*, No. 25, p. 193, text line 16.
82. *ibid.*
83. *EL.*, Vol X, p. 80, text line 6.
84. *Ibid.*
85. Stein, R.T., Trans. Vol. II, p. 291.
86. *EL.*, Vol. I, p. 106, text line 28.
87. *Antiquities*, No. 33, p. 222, text line 2.
88. *Ibid.*, No. 42, p. 244, text line 12.
89. *Ibid.*, No. 25, p. 193, text line 16.
90. *Antiquities*. No. 25, pp. 193-94, text lines 19, 21, 29.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
92. *EL.*, Vol. I, pp. 115, 118.
93. *Antiquities*, No. 33, p. 222, text line 2.
94. *Ibid.*, No. 25, p. 193, 1.17.
95. *Antiquities of Marey Wadwan*, p. 24.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
97. *Ibid.*, No. 154, p. 167, text line 1.
98. *EL.*, I, pp. 107-8.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
100. Vs. 443.
101. Cf. *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, Vol. II, p. 172.
102. See above (Chapter II).
103. *Antiquities*, No. 14, p. 167, text lines 5-7 ; No. 25, p. 193, text line 17.
104. *Antiquities*, No. 24, p. 185, text line 20.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
106. *Ibid.*
107. *Ibid.*, No. 25, p. 185, text line 17.
108. *Prāśasti* No. II, lines 7, 11.
109. *Anc. Geo.*, p. 156
110. *HPS*, Vol. I, p. 103.
111. *Ibid.*, fn. 1,
112. *Journal of Central Asia*, Vol II, No. 1, p. 72, text line 4.
113. *India*. Vol. 1, pp 20f, 259, 317.
114. *EI.*, Vol. XX, p. 301 text line 4.
115. *Op. cit.*, text lines 9-10.
116. *Antiquities*, pp. 216 ff.
117. Deambi, *op. cit.*, p. 122, text line 4.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 127, text line 5.

Appendix

LIST OF ŚĀRADĀ INSCRIPTIONS

I. GANDHĀRA (N. W. PAKISTAN)

1. *Dewai stone inscription of the Śāhi King Bhīma-Deva.*

Ref. : *EI* ; Vol. XXI ; pp. 298f, Pl.; *VII*; No. 48, pp. 427ff.

Des. : The inscription consisting of four short lines was first found by Major Deane at Dewai in the Gadun territory of north Western Pakistan. It only contains mention of king Bhīmadeva described as Śāhi and born in the lineage of Kalara-pāla. Bhīmadeva is mentioned with full sovereign titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*.

2. *Barikot Inscription of the Reign of Jayapāladeva.*

Ref. : *EI* ; Vol. XXI, pp. 30ff.

Des. : The inscription now badly defaced was found on a hill to the north of Barikot in upper Swat in Pakistan. It records the construction at *Vajīrithāna* (modern Waziristan) of something, the exact nature of which cannot be determined, by three donors whose names are lost, in the reign of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śri Jayapāla deva*.

3. *Hund slab inscription of the time of Jayapāladeva*

Ref. : *Journal of Central Asia*, 1979, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 71 ff.; Pl.

Des. : The inscription consisting of 24 lines, mostly in verse was found in the town of Hund ancient *Udabhāṇḍapura*, in the Peshawar district of Pakistan. It contains a description of the Śābi capital *Udabhāṇḍapura* in the beginning, refers to Bhīmādeva's victory over enemies and records the construction of a Śiva temple by Coṅgulavarman, son of Paṅgula at *Udabhāṇḍapura* in the year 146 when Jayapāla was the ruling prince.

4. *Hund inscription of Mahārājañi Śrī Kāmeśvarī Devī.*

Ref. : *EI* ; Vol. XXII, pp. 97 ff ; Pl.

Des. : This inscription also discovered at Hund by Captain E H. Cobb in April 1933 records the construction of a temple (*Devakula*) by *Mahārājñi Śrī Kāmeśvarīdevī* and its consecration between Saturday, the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month of *Āśvayuja* in *Samvat* 154 and Thursday, the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Āṣāḍha* in *Samvat* 157. The record mentions *Navakarmapati Jayantarāja*, *Pañcakula Pillaka* and *Kāyastha Bhogika*.

5. *A fragmentary Śārāda inscription from Hund.*

Ref. : *JASB* Vol. VI, pp. 877-79 and Pl ; *EI*. Vol., XXXVIII, pp. 94 ff.

Des. : The inscription consisting of 13 partly preserved lines was also found at Hund and first noticed by M. Court. The purport of the inscription is not known but judged from the mention of the same three persons as in the record of *Kāmeśvarīdevī*, it appears that this record also meant to record the consecration of some charitable institution. The record contains mention of King Anantadeva who is described as "dextrous in the task of incessantly striking down the growing and formidable might of the *Turuṣkas*". It is now in the Indian-Museum Calcutta.

6. *Rock inscription from Gaggai.*

Ref. : *Antiquities* ; Appendix *List of Śāradā Inscriptions.*

Des. : The inscription originally found at Gaggai, north east of Badwan in Peshawar district of Pakistan and now preserved in the Lahore Museum, has not been edited so far. It is dated *sam* 9 in the reign of Hammīra.

7. *Peshawar Museum inscription of Vaṇhaḍaka.*

Ref. : *El* , Vol. X, pp. 80 ff ; and Pl.

Des. : This inscription the find spot of which is unknown records the construction of a tank by Śrī Vaṇhaḍaka. It is dated Saturday, the thirteenth lunar day of the bright half of *Kārtika* in the *Laukika Samvat* 538 corresponding to 17th October A.D. 1461. A peculiarity of the inscription is that the letters are not incised but raised as is generally the case in the Medieval inscriptions.

8. *A Śāradā inscription from the Peshawar Museum.*

Ref. : *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1925-26) pp. 36 ff.

Des. : Discovered in the Tochi Valley in Pakistan and now lying in Peshawar Museum this record consists of six short lines of which only the first four mentioning the date of the inscription are preserved. It is dated in the year 32, probably of the *Śāstra* or *Laukika* era.

9. *Stone inscription from Dal Mahat in the Hazara district.*

Ref : *Antiquities.*, Appendix, *List of Śāradā Inscriptions.*

Des. : The inscription is included in the Vogel's aforementioned list of the *Śāradā Inscriptions* but has not been described or edited so far. It is dated *Samvat* 84 probably of the *Śāstra* era and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum.

10-12. The following three inscriptions now preserved in the Lahore Museum are included in the Vogel's list. None of them has however been edited so far.

1. Stone inscription from Ranighat in Khundukhel territory.
2. Defaced rock inscription from Tarwara in Maidan Banda.
3. Defaced rock inscription from Jalalabad in Afghanistan.

II. KASHMIR

13. *Vontapur (Avantipur) Ghaṭa inscription of Avantivarma.*

Ref. : Note, p. 20 ; Corpus of the Śāradā Inscriptions of Kashmir, pp. 133 ff ; Pl.

Des. : The inscription was discovered at the site of the ancient temple of Avantīsvāmi at Avantipur, in the Anantnag district and is now lying in the S.P.S. Museum Srinagar. It consists of only one line cut on a fragment of a large size storage vessel (*ghaṭa*) and mentions king A(va)ntivarma, the founder of the temple.

14. *S.P.S. Museum Srinagar Buddhist image inscription of queen Diddā.*

Ref. : Corpus., pp. 97 ff. and Pl.

Des. : The epigraph records the consecration of a religious gift (*deya dharma*) consisting of the bronze statuette of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi by Rājānaka Bhīmaṭa, a Buddhist devotee and son of Cāvaṭa and by the four brothers of Gaṅgā-devī. It is dated in the year 65 in the reign of queen Diddā on the 15th lunar day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa. The year referring to the *Laukika* era corresponds to A.D. 989. The exact find spot of the inscription is not known.

15. *Srinagar inscription of the reign of queen Diddā.*

Ref. : *ASI. An. REP.* 1918-19, p. 20, Appendix C. No. 9 ; *El.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 153 ff. Pl ; *Corpus.*, pp. 100 ff ; Pl.

Des. : The inscription was discovered in a private house in Srinagar and was later presented by Dr. G.W. Leitner to the Lahore Museum where it is now preserved. It appears to be dedicatory in character but the genealogy of the donor named Dharmāṅka and the dedicatory portion recording the purpose of the inscription are lost. The epigraph is dated in the bright fortnight of the month of Śuci in the year 68 in the reign of queen Diddā. The year referring to *Laukika* era corresponds to A.D. 992.

16. *S.P.S. Museum Srinagar stone slab inscription of the reign of Jayasimha.*

Ref. : *Corpus.*, p. 102.

Des. : The inscription was found in the vicinity of Ferozpur Nallah near Baramulla in the course of the dredging operations in the river Jehlum and is now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar. It consists of three lines and records the re-consecration of something not mentioned in the inscription by some Bhaṭṭa Govinda. It is dated in *Samvat* 25 on the 12th lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Chaitra* in the reign of king Jayasimha.

17. *Tapar stone inscription of the reign of Paramāṇḍadeva.*

Ref. : *Corpus.*, pp. 103 f., Pl.

Des. : The inscription was discovered during the excavations at Tapar ancient Pratāpapura, 47 km. to the south west of Srinagar and is now preserved in S.P.S. Museum Srinagar. It records

the consecration of something not recorded in the inscription but probably of a temple of which the huge inscribed lintel containing the inscription formed a part. The donor was Gagga, son of Jagarāja. The record is dated in the year 33 on the 15th lunar day of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha in the reign of the illustrious Paramāṇḍa-deva.

18. *Vejebror/Bijbehara stone inscription of the reign of Yaskaradeva.*

Ref. : *Note* ; p. 22, *Corpus.*, pp. 105 f, Pl.

Des. : The inscription was first discovered by Sri John Marshall during his tour of the Valley at Vejibror in district Anantnag and originally belonging to a Hindu Shrine is now built into an outer wall of the Mosque attached to the Ziarat of Nasib-uddin Aulia in the same locality. It records the consecration by Paṇḍita Bhaṭṭa Manohara of something not recorded in the inscription but presumably of some religious institution of which the inscribed stone formed a part. It is dated in the year 53, on the 10th lunar day of the bright half of Śrāvana in the reign of Yaskaradeva.

19. *Arigom stone slab inscription of the year 73.*

Ref. : *EI* ; Vol. XI, pp. 300 ff ; *Corpus.*, pp. 107 f ; Pl.

Des. : The inscription was first discovered by Sten Konow during his tour of the valley in 1908-9 at the village Arigom ancient Hāḍigrāma in the Bādgam district and is now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum Srinagar. It records the construction of a *vihāra* (Shrine) of burnt bricks by some Rāmadeva to replace the earlier burnt structure of wood. It is dated in the year 73 on the 5th lunar day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa.

20. *Vejebror (Bijbehara) stone inscription of the reign of Rājadeva.*

Ref. : *Corpus.*, pp. 110 ff ; Pl.

Des. : This inscription originally discovered from a private house at Vejebror (Bijbehara) is now lying in a private house at Srinagar. It records the consecration of a *maṇḍalaka* in honour of Lord Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara) by Ācārya Kamalaśriya in the reign of king Rājadeva in the year 58, on the 15th lunar day of the bright half of *Vaiśākha*.

21. *Kotiher stone slab inscription of the reign of Shāhabadēna. (Shāhāb-U-Dīn).*

Ref. : *Corpus.*, pp. 113 ff ; Pl.

Des. : This inscription only partly preserved was found in the village of Kotiher in the Anantnag district and is now lying in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar. The portion recording the purport of the inscription is lost but it probably recorded the construction of a religious hospice (*dharmamaṭha*) by an individual whose name is preserved only in part. The main portion of the inscription is devoted to the praise of the ruling king Shāhabadēna identified with Sultan Shāhab-u-din who ruled over Kashmir from A.D. 1354 to A.D. 1373. The record is dated Thursday, the 12th lunar day of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* in the year 45.

22. *Khonamuh stone inscription of the time of Jayanolahadeva Śāha, Kali 4530.*

Ref. : *Vij.*, Vol. XVII ; pp. 220 ff ; *Corpus.*, pp. 119 ff., Pl.

Des. : The inscription still *in situ* and in perfect state of preservation is incised on a stone lying at the mouth of an underground stream at a place

locally known as Bhuvaneshvarī in the village Khunamuh 9 miles to the south east of Srinagar. It records the construction of a hermitage by a certain merchant named Pūrṇaka, son of Suva. The record is dated in the Kali year 4530 when Jayanolabadena Śāha (Zain-ul-ābidin) son of Sakandara (Sikandara) was on the throne. The consecration of the hermitage took place on Friday, the fifth lunar day of *Mārgaśīrṣa* in the year 4.

23. *Parepur stone inscription of the time of Hasana.*

Ref. : Sten Konow, *Note*; p. 13 ; *Corpus.*, pp. 125 ff ; Pl.

Des. : The inscription now in a highly defaced condition is still traceable at its original site at Parepur, a small hamlet situated 12 km. to the west of the town of Kupwara, headquarters of the district of the same name. It contains mention of king Hasana identified with king Hasan Shah who ruled over Kashmir from A.D. 1472 to 1484. It is dated on the 15th lunar day of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* in the year 52.

24. *Hariparbat grave stone inscription of the reign of Muhammad Shāha.*

Ref. : ZDMG. Vol ; LX, p. 9, *Ind. Ant* ; Vol ; XX, P. 153, Marshall, *Note* ; p. 17 ; *Corpus* ; pp. 128 ff ; Pl.

Des. : The inscription is engraved on a grave in the cemetery surrounding the Ziarat of Baha-u-din at Hariparbat in Srinagar. It is bilingual in character being written in Persian and Sanskrit languages in Persio-Arabic and Śāradā scripts respectively. The epigraph is an epitaph commemorating the death of certain Seda Khan son of Aibrahm, who fell in the battle at the feet of Jīṣṭhaludra in the reign of Muhammad

Shāha. It is dated in the year 60 on Friday, the first day of the dark fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the reign of Muhammad Shāha.

25. *Digom (Kapal-Mochan) inscription of Vikrama year 1846.*

Ref. : JASB., Vol. VII ; pp. 88-89 ; *Corpus.*, pp. 131 f.

Des. : The inscription was discovered at Digom also called Kapal Mochan, a place of pilgrimage 27 miles to the south-east of Srinagar in the Shopian Tehsil of Pulwama district. It is no longer traceable now. It records the donation of a religious institution into which the inscribed stone had been built, to a Pandit of Soma Caste. It is dated in the Vikram year 1846.

26. *Digom (Kapal-Mochan) fragmentary inscription.*

Ref. : See under 25.

Des. : This inscription discovered at the same site as above is a fragment and its exact meaning cannot be made out.

27. *Martand stone inscription.*

Ref. : R.S. Pandit, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Eng. Trans., Appendix, Pl. XI. *Corpus.*, pp. 136 ff.

Des. : This inscription was discovered at Martand, the site of a celebrated ancient temple dedicated to the Sun-God Martand in the Anantnag district. It has suffered great damage and is now preserved in a wooden almirah at the ruined site of the temple. It appears to record the consecration of a *bimba* of Mārtaṇḍa, the son-God by the illustrious Śrī Varmā in the 70th regnal year (?) of some king whose name is unfortunately lost.

28. *The S. P. S. Museum Buddhist image inscription.*

Ref. : *Corpus* ; p. 139.

Des. : The inscription is incised on the back of an image of Buddha cast in brass. The original find spot

of the image now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum Srinagar remains unknown. The record contains the famous Buddhist creed *ye dharma hetu prabhavā* etc.

29. *Buddhist Image Inscription of Śaṅkarasena and Devaśrīyā.*

Ref. : Pal, *Bronzes of Kashmir*, p. 106, *Corpus*, pp. 140 f; Pl.

Des. : The inscription is incised on the base of a bronze image of the Buddha, the original find spot of which is unknown. It records the consecration of the pious gift consisting of the image itself by Śaṅkara Sena, and the princess Devaśrīyā.

30. *Lodu Temple Inscription.*

Ref. : *Corpus*., p. 142.

Des. : The inscription is incised on a huge rock inside a temple at village Lodu 17 miles to the east of Srinagar. It consists of two partly preserved short lines and contains mention of a title *Sthāpati* (*Sthāpati*).

31. *S. P. S. Museum Fragmentary Inscription of the year 21.*

Ref. : *Corpus*., pp. 143 f.

Des. : The inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a cult statue and records the construction of a house with a pavillion inside the premises of a temple at *Tana-rudra-magra* by an ascetic Gagga, son of Vijayakaṇṭha. The find spot of the record now in a fragmentary condition is unknown. It is now preserved in in S.P.S. Museum Srinagar. The consecration took place on the second lunar day of the bright half of *Āṣāḍha* in the year 21.

32. *Wularhama Bath Inscription*

Ref. : *Corpus*., pp. 145 ff.

- Des.* : The epigraph is incised on an oblong stone slab standing at the entrance of a bath attached to a mosque at Wularhama a small village situated 25 km. from Bijbehara in the Anantnag district. It records the construction of a sacrificial altar by a certain lady whose name is not traceable in the preserved text but who is described as the wife of a certain king named Ritibha. The stone contains only the second part of the inscription.
33. *S. P. S. Museum memorial tablet inscription of Prithvīgiri.*
Ref. : *Corpus.*, P. 148.
Des. : The inscription the original find spot of which is unknown and which is now preserved in the S. P. S. Museum Srinagar is engraved on a stone slab which appears to be a memorial tablet of some warrior named Prithvīgiri.
34. *Vejebror (Bijbehara) Viṣṇu image inscription.*
Ref. : Sten Konow, *Note.*, P. 15, *Corpus.*, Appendix I, p. 157.
Des. : The inscription engraved on the base of a large image of Viṣṇu consists of one line containing obeissance to god Janārdana. It is no longer traceable now.
35. *Srinagar defaced stone inscription.*
Ref. : Marshall, *Note.*, P. 17, *Corpus.*, Appendix I, P. 147.
Des. : The record is stated to have been built in the wall of a merchant's house below the second bridge (Habbha Kadal). It is not traceable now.
36. *Srinagar stone inscription below the third bridge.*
Ref. : Marshall, *Note.*, P. 17 ; *Corpus.*, Appendix I, p. 157.
Des. : The inscription said to be engraved on the stone on the left side of the Jehlum below the 3rd

bridge (old Fateh Kadal) was brought to the notice of John Marshall during his tour of the valley in 1922. It could not be traced by Marshall being under the surface of the water at the time of his visit. The inscription is no longer traceable now and its purport remains unknown.

37-38. *Three fragmentary stone inscriptions from Khonamuh.*

Ref. : G. Bühler, *Report.*, P. 5 ; *Corpus.*, Appendix I, p. 157.

Des. : These inscriptions discovered at Khonamoh in Srinagar district have been referred to by G. Bühler in his report in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Kashmir and Rajputana. One of these engraved on a stone slab was found by Bühler at the mouth of a spring at Basmasar situated on the slope of a hill, three hundred feet to the north of Khonamuh. It is no longer traceable now.

The other two records are brief votive inscriptions incised on small stone slabs built in the wall of a tank outside the village of Khonamuh. One is dated *sam* 34 and the other *sam* 39. Both are still extant but the writing is in a mutilated condition.

39. *Kuti-Tir̥tha (Baramula) defaced stone inscription.*

Ref. : G. Bühler; *op. cit.* ; *Corpus.*, Appendix I, p. 158.

Des. : This inscription was noticed by Bühler at the sacred temple of Kutitir̥tha in Baramulla with most of the lettering obliterated. It is not extant now.

40-41. *Two image inscriptions at Sogam, Lolab.*

Ref. : These were found by Sten Konow at Sogam in the Lolab valley. One of the two inscrip-

tions was seen engraved on a small stone containing the image of some god. The other was engraved on the base of an image representing three gods. Both the inscriptions and the images have long disappeared.

42-43. *Stone inscriptions at Lasityal & Kalarus.*

Ref. : Vogel, *Antiquities.*, Appendix I, p. 258, Sten Konow, *Note.*, p. 14 ; *Corpus.*, Appendix I, pp. 258 f.

Des. : These inscriptions referred to by Vogel in his list of Śāradā inscriptions and Sten Konow in his *Note.* respectively without any description were said to hail from the small hamlets of Lasityal and Kalarus situated within the close vicinity of each other in the Kupwara district. The two records are not traceable now. The frantic search made by the present writer to trace the same did not yield any fruitful result.

III. JAMMU

44. *Dacchan stone inscriptions of the reign of (A) nantadeva.*

Ref. : Kak, R.C., *Antiquities of Marev Wadwan.*, pp. 24 f ; *Corpus.*, pp. 149 f ; Pl.

Des : This epigraph was discovered by R.C. Kak at Decchan the chief village of the region of the same name situated near Kishtwar in the Doda district. It records the construction of a bridge by one Mahimagupta, the resident of Veri. It is dated the 12th lunar day of the bright half of *Caitra* in the year 12, in the reign of the illustrious (A)nantadeva.

45. *Zaji-Nai stone inscription.*

Ref. : Kak, R.C. *Op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff, *Corpus.*, pp. 151 f.

Des. : This inscription was found by R.C. Kak at the southern extremity of a mountain glen called Zaji-Nai near Wadwan in the Doda district of Jammu. It is only partly preserved with only few letters distinctly visible. The purport of the epigraph appears to record the erection of a stable for the protection of horses and cows. The inscribed stone now in fragments is preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.

46. *Babor stone inscription.*

Ref. : *JRAS*, (1907) p. 415 ; *Corpus.*, Appendix I, p. 159.

Des. : This record was noticed by Vogel in a ruined temple at Babor, 17 miles east of Jammu. It is completely obliterated and its content and purpose remain unknown.

47. *Kishtwar linga stand inscription.*

Ref. : *JRAS* (1907), p. 405, *Corpus.*, Appendix I, p. 159.

Des. : Incised on stone linga this inscription was noticed by Vogel at Kishtwar in the Doda district. Like the one noted above this record too is completely defaced.

48-49. *Two image inscriptions from Bhadarwah.*

Ref. : Vogel, *List of Śāradā inscriptions, Antiquities Appendix.*

Des. : These were noticed by Vogel incised on the pedestals of two images in a cave near Bhadrawah in the Doda district. None of the two is traceable now.

IV. LADAKH

50. *Dras Pillar inscription.*

Ref. : Cunningham, A. *Ladakh*, p. 381, Pl. XXX, *Vigne Travels* ; Vol II, p. 393, Francke, *History of Western Tibet*, p. 52, *Corpus.*, pp. 153 f.

Des. : This inscription is incised on the back of a pillar lying on the Srinagar Leh Road between the hamlet of Styalbo and the village of Dras. Consisting of seven short lines the epigraph records the installation of an image of Maitreya by Ārya Tharaṇya-Kula.

51. *Maitreya image inscription from Drass.*

Ref. : A. Cunningham, *Ladakh*, p. 381.

Des. : Incised on the pedestal of an image of Bodhisattva Maitreya this inscription was discovered by Cunningham near the village of Drass noted above. Dated in the 7th year it consists of fifteen lines nearly obliterated.

52. *Sanskrit inscription in the hall of Chigtan Monastery.*

Ref. : Francke, *History of Western Tibet*, p. 52.

Des. : This inscription is incised on the north wall of the Chigtan Monastery near Zanskar in Ladakh. It consists of five lines but the writing is defaced.

V. CHAMBA

1. *Sarahan Praśasti.*

This inscription incised on the front and the back of stone slab was discovered by Vogel in the village temple of Sarahan situated 8 miles from Chamba town, on the left bank of the Sal stream. It is now preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. It consists of twenty two lines and is composed in verse. The major part of the inscription is devoted to the praise of a lady named Somaprabhā, of the house of the lord of Kiṣkindhikā and married to a ruler named Sātyaki. It records the foundation of a Śiva temple by Sātyaki. It has been edited by Vogel, *Antiquities*, pp. 152 ff. Pl. XV.

2. *Brahmor copper-plate inscription of Yugākaravarman.*

This charter was issued from Canpakā modern Chamba, as the seat of Government. The inscription records the grant of lands in the village of *Viḍhvikā* in the *Brahmapura-Maṇḍala*, by king Yugākara-varman, son of Sāhilla and Nennādevī to a temple dedicated to God Narasimha and installed by Mahārājñī Tribhuvana-rekhā devī, probably the wife of Yugākara-varman. The place names *Viḍhvikā* and *Brahmapura* have been identified above with the modern villages of Barei and Baramaor respectively. The record mentions some agricultural terms which throw interesting light on the ancient agricultural system of Chamba. These have been discussed in detail above. The copper plate was first edited by Vogel in *ASI, An. Rep.* 1902-3, pp. 248 and Pl. and then in his *Antiquities*, pp. 159 ff., Pl. XVI.

3. *Sungal copper-plate inscription of Vidagdha.*

It records the grant of lands in the village of Sumaṅgala (Modern Sungal) by king Vidagdha to Brahmaṇa Nandu (ka) son of Deddu (ka). It describes Vidagdha as son of Yugākara-varman and Bhogamatī, a scion of solar race and of the house of Moṣaṇa. It contains a long list of state officials and mentions some important agricultural terms. The document is, as such, important for the study of the system of administration and agriculture in ancient Chamba. It is dated in the 4th year of Vidagdha's reign. The grant of land was made on the auspicious occasion of the hibernal solstice (*Makara-Samkrānti*). The record was first edited by Vogel in *ASI, An. Rep.*, 1902-3, pp. 248 ff. Pl. and then in *Antiquities.*, pp. 164 ff. Pl. XVII.

4. *Tur image inscription of Thakkika.*

It was discovered by Vogel at the village Tur in Chamba and is now preserved in the Bhuri Singh

Museum, Chamba. It has been edited by Vogel in *Antiquities.*, pp. 172-74, Pl. XIXa. It records the consecration by Thakkika of Thakkika-Swāmin, probably a Viṣṇu image named after the donor's own name.

5. *Tur image inscription of Dodaka*

This record, like the one noted above, was found by Vogel at Tur and subsequently edited by him in *Antiquities.*, p. 173, Pl. XIXb. It records the erection of Kārttikeya by king Dodaka, the son and successor of Vidagdha-deva.

6. *Tur image inscription*

It is engraved on the base of a much defaced stone statuette of four-armed goddess Pārvati and is now preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum Chamba, having originally been found at Tur. It records the consecration by certain Asaharana of something exact nature of which is not known, owing to the letters being wholly obliterated, but probably of the image on the base of which it is engraved. It has been edited by Vogel in *Antiquities*, pp. 174f and Pl. XIXC.

7. *Dadvar fountain inscription of the reign of Trailokya-deva*

It is incised on a profusely carved but broken fountain slab discovered in 1905 at Dadvar near Tisa in Curah (Chamba) and now placed in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. It has been edited by Vogel in *Antiquities.*, Pp. 176 f. Pl. XX. It is dated in the 17th regnal year of Trailokya-deva and in (Śāstra) year 17, *Jyeṣṭha Vati* 12 corresponding to April 30, A.D. 1041. It records the setting up of a fountain stone (Lit. *Varuna-deva*) by Bhoga, son of Brāhmaṇa Saihila.

8. *Bhakund fountain inscription of the reign of Trailokyadeva*

This brief record of three lines was discovered at

Bhakund 5 miles north-east of Tisa in Curah (Chamba). It is now preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum Chamba. It has been edited by Vogel in *Antiquities*, pp. 177 f., Pl. XX. It is dated in the reign of Trailokyadeva, in the *Śāstra* year 4 corresponding to A.D. 1028. It records the erection of a fountain-stone by Paripūrṇa, son of Bhośarman.

9. *Naghai fountain in inscription of the Rājānaka Deva-Prasāda*

It is incised on a large-sized carved fountain slab discovered at the village Naghai 2 miles south of Sai in Curah. It has been edited by Vogel in *Antiquities*, pp. 178 ff. It records the erection of a fountain stone by Rājānaka Deva-Prasāda, son of Rājānaka Nāga-prasāda for the sake of the bliss in the next world of the Rānī, the illustrious Mekhalā. It is dated in the 3rd (?) year of the reign of Trailokya-deva.

10. *Bhanota fountain inscription of the reign of Soma-varman*

This inscription incised on a fragment of a fountain slab was discovered near the village of Bhanota in Curah (Chamba). It is now preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. It has been edited by Vogel, *Antiquities*, Pp. 180 f, Pl. XXIII. Most of the letters are lost. It is dated in the reign of Soma-verman.

11. *Kaulait Copper-plate inscription of Soma-varman*

This copper plate was first brought into the notice of Dr. Vogel in 1902 during his tour of Chamba in the summer of that year. It was subsequently edited by him first in *ASI, An. Rep.*, 1902-3, pp. 225 ff., Pl. III and later in *Antiquities*, pp. 182 ff. Pl. XXIV. It records the grant of land by king soma-varman, son of Sālavāhana, in the village *Kulika-goṣṭha*; the modern Kulait, in the district of *Trighaṭṭaka* (identified with Trehta on the upper Ravi) to Brāhmana Bhaṭṭa Rahasa

on the occasion of Solar eclipse. It mentions Sāhilla's pilgrimage to *Kurukṣetra* on the occasion of a solar eclipse and his donation of a large number of elephants on the occasion. The *dūtas* or the messengers of the grant were the Prime Minister (*Mahāmātya*) Rihila and the great Record Keeper (*Mahāksapatalika*) Kahila, both of whom bore the title *Rājānaka*.

12. *Chamba Copper-plate inscription of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa*

This copper plate was first brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham and was subsequently edited by Kielhorn in *IA.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 11 ff. It was re-edited by Vogel, first in *ASI.*, *An. Rep.*, 1902-3, pp. 258 ff., Pl. IV and afterwards in *Antiquities*, pp. 187 ff., Pl. XXV. It records the grants of land by Soma-varman to the Viṣṇu temple founded by Mahārājaputra Pāsaṭa, to the Viṣṇu temple consecrated by Lakṣamaṇa-varman and to the Śiva temple built by queen Rārḍhā for the good of Salākara-varman (identified with Sālavāhana). Among the donated plots of land situated in several villages, still traceable in the neighbourhood of the present town of Chamba, one was in the possession of queen Rārḍhā and one in that of the royal cook (*Sūpakāra*) Surambhaṭṭa. The copper-plate contains an addition dated in the 11th year of Āsaṭa's reign. The added portion records a change in original donation regarding one *bhū* of land in the village of Maṅgala (modern Mangalā) in the *Pārkaṃaṭa maṇḍala* and also records an additional grant of one *bhū* of land to a temple, the name of which is not specifically mentioned.

The copper plate bears the signatures of both the original donor Soma-varman and of the ruling chief Āsaṭa.

13. *Thundu Copper-plate inscription of Āsaṭa*

This copper plate belonging to a Brāhmaṇa Jasu

in the village of Thundu in the Gudhyal pargana came to the notice of Vogel in 1902 who subsequently edited it first in the *ASI., An. Rep.* 1902-3. pp. 264 ff., Pl. V and later in *Antiquities*, pp. 197 ff., Pl. XXVI. It records the grant of land by Āsaṭa in the Bhaṭṭāra district to a Brahman Māca, son of Pūrṇarāja.

14. *Siya fountain inscription of the first year of Āsaṭa*

This inscription engraved on a fountain slab containing a squatting figure of god-Varuṇa, was discovered by Vogel in 1908 in the village Siya situated, "on the ridge above Loh-Tikri beyond Bharara" and subsequently edited by him in *Antiquities.*, pp. 200 ff., Pls. XXXIII and XXVII. It records the erection of a fountain slab by Ranasiha and Dhanasiha, the sons of Māca, for the sake of the future bliss of their brother Caṇika. It is dated in the first year of the reign of Āsaṭa.

15. *Luj fountain of the first year of Jāsaṭa*

It is incised on a fountain slab lying at Dhadya, below the village of Luj in the Pangī-sub-division of Chamba. It records the setting up of a fountain slab by Nāgara, the son of Bhaṭalau and Bhaṭagiri. It is dated in the first year of Jāsaṭa and in the year 81. The year 81, probably the Śāstra year 4181, corresponds to AD. 1105-6. The record has been edited by Vogel in *Antiquities.*, pp. 202 ff., Pl. XXVIII.

16. *Loh-Tikri fountain inscription of the 9th year of Jāsaṭa*

It was found by Dr. Vogel in 1905 at the village Loh-Tikri in Chamba district and later edited by him in *Antiquities.*, pp. 205 ff., Pl. XXVIII. It records the erection of a fountain slab of Mūṣuṇa, the son of Kona. It is dated in the 9th year of reign of Jāsaṭa, in *Jyēṣṭha bati* 12 which corresponds to 3rd May, 1114.

17. *Devi-Ri-Kothi Nārāyaṇa image inscription of Rājānaka Nāga-Pāla*

Incised on the base of an image Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa contained in a fountain enclosure, this inscription was found by Dr. Vogel at the village Devi-ri-Kothi in the Curah sub-division of Chamba. It is now preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. It records the consecration of an image of Nārāyaṇa, evidently the same image on the base of which it is incised, by Rājānaka Nāgapāla. It has been edited by Vogel in *Antiquities*, No. 30., pp. 207 f., Pl. XXIX.

18. *Devi-Ri-Kothi stone inscription of Raṇapāla of the year 2*

It is incised on a large stone placed above the Nārāyaṇa-image noted above. It is dated in the year 2 of king Raṇapāla who is mentioned with full sovereign titles. The date of the inscription *Sam 2 Aśva vati 8.*, corresponds according to 16th August 1161. The record, now preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum Chamba, has been edited by Vogel in *Antiquities.*, pp. 208 f., Pl. XXIX.

19. *Devi-Ri-Kothi fountain inscription of Rājānaka Nāga-Pāla of the 17th year of Lalita-Varman*

It is engraved on a stone slab which, according to Vogel who first discovered the inscription, must have originally stood to the proper left of the Nārāyaṇa image referred to above. It has been edited by Vogel in *Antiquities*, pp. 209 ff. Pl. XXX.

The record which consists of twenty-five lines, contains an eulogy of Nāga-pāla identified with Nāgapāla of the Nārāyaṇa image inscription noted above. The eulogy begins from stanza 10 which shows that it contains only the second part of the *praśasti*, the first part having been apparently incised on some other slab not traceable now. The extant portion too is defaced at

several places but the missing portions have been restored to a great extent by Vogel.

20. *Salhi fountain of Rājānaka Ludra-Pāla of the 27th year of Lalita-varman*

This record engraved on a huge fountain slab was discovered by Vogel at the village Salhi in the Pangi sub-division of Chamba district and subsequently edited by him in *Antiquities*, I, pp. 216 ff. Pl. XXXII. It records the erection of a fountain slab by queen Delhā, wife of Ludrapāla. It is dated in *Śāstra* year 46 corresponding to A.D. 1170.

21. *Mul-kihar fountain inscription*

It is incised on a broken fountain slab which was discovered by Vogel at the small village of Mul-kihar, 3 miles to the north-west of Dyuhr in the Chamba district. The inscription is only partially preserved, greater part of it having been lost with the breaking away of the left end of the slab.

The record contains the geneology of the donor Goga but the names of most of his ancestors are lost. It records the erection of a fountain by Goga in memory of the deceased Sūramatī. Owing to the fragmentary condition of the inscription it is not clear whether Goga was the son or the husband of the deceased lady but the latter alternative seems to be more plausible.

The inscription has been edited by Vogel in *Antiquities*., pp. 224 ff. Pl. XXXIII.

22. *Sai fountain inscription of the reign of Ajayapāla*

The epigraph incised on a profusely carved stone slab was discovered by Vogel at Sai in the Churah sub-division of Chamba and later edited by him in *Antiquities*., pp. 232 ff. Pl. XXXV. It records the setting up of a fountain stone by Rājapāla, son of Devasa for the sake of Ranautra Phāhi. It is dated in the *Śāstra* year I in the reign of king Ajayapāla.

23. *Bharara fountain inscription*

This inscription, discovered at the village of Bharara near Loh-Tikri in Chamba, has been edited by Vogel in his *Antiquities.*, pp. 237 f., Pl. XXXVI. Some of the letters have become mutilated owing to the long exposure. The epigraph records the erection of a fountain slab by a person whose name is lost. It is dated in the 27th year of some Varman ruler of Chamba, the first part of whose name is unfortunately lost.

24. *Basua fountain inscription*

It has been discovered at village Basua in the Curah sub-division of Chamba and edited by Vogel in his *Antiquities.*, p. 239, Pl. XXXV. The letters of the inscription are badly executed and their meaning is uncertain. It seems to record the construction of a fountain slab, on which it is incised. It does not contain any date.

25. *Batrundi fountain inscription*

Carved on a fragmentary slab which seems to have formed part of a fountain slab, this inscription was discovered by Vogel near the village of Batrundi $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of Loh-Tikri in Chamba and subsequently edited by him in *Antiquities.*, pp. 239 f., Pl. XXXVIII. It is in a much defaced condition. Only the first three lines, containing the royal titles of some king in the 7th year of whose reign the record is dated, are preserved. The inscription is now preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum Chamba.

26. *Nal fountain inscription*

It is incised on the fragment of a fountain slab which was discovered at the village of Nal, below Tisa in Chamba by Vogel in 1906 and subsequently edited by him in *Antiquities.*, pp. 240 f., Pl. XXXV. It consists of three lines of which the first halves are lost. It is

dated in the reign of some king whose name is unfortunately lost. It mentions a certain official Muhunuka with designation *Pratīhāra*. It is now preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba.

27. *Siya-Dudhar fountain inscription*

It was discovered by Vogel in 1906 at the locality named Siya Dudhar, one mile above the village of Bahnota in the Loh-Tikri Pargana of district Chamba. It has been edited by him in *Antiquities*, pp. 242 f., Pl. XXXVI. It records the erection of a fountain slab by four individuals for the sake of their deceased brother Tyāga. It is now preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba.

28. *Mangloa fountain inscription*

This epigraph, partly destroyed, has been discovered at village Mangloa in the Loh-Tikri pargana of Chamba and edited by Vogel in *Antiquities*, p. 243, Pl. XXXVI. It consists of two stanzas in which the transitoriness of human life and the religious merit accruing from the construction of a fountain, have been described.

29. *Bento-Puhali fountain inscription*

It was found by Vogel at a shepherd station (Puhali), named Bento, 2 miles each of Kilar in the Pangī sub-division of Chamba. It is written in corrupt Sanskrit and is dated in reign of a king, named Lalita-deva, identified with king Lalita-varman of Chamba who ruled in the later half of the 12th century. It mentions *Pāṅgati* apparently the ancient name of modern Pangī. The record has been edited by Vogel, in *Antiquities*, p. 244, Pl. XXXVI.

30. *Sukoi fountain inscription*

It was discovered by Vogel in the summer of 1905 at the village Sukoi in the Loh-Tikri pargana of Chamba.

It was edited by him later in 1911 in *Antiquities*, pp. 244 f. Pl XXXVI. It records the construction of a fountain by some one whose name is not preserved in the inscription.

31. *Bhatkara fountain inscription*

It records the erection of a fountain slab on which it is engraved by a private individual named Dhāṇa. It was found by Vogel at Bhatkara, 3 miles north-west of Loh-Tikri in Chamba and later edited by him in *Antiquities*, pp. 245 f., Pl. XXX VIII. It is now lying in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba.

32. *Hundan fountain inscription*

It is incised on the fragment of a fountain slab and was found at Hundan, a village 5 miles east of Kilar in Pangti. It is incomplete and consists of three lines. It is dated in the 4th year of a ruler named Śālivikrama. Judging from the fact that Śālivikrama is not mentioned with any titles we may presume that he was a local Chieftain of Pangti.

33. *Saho image inscription*

It is engraved on the base of a statuette of Viṣṇu placed in a small shrine at Saho in Chamba. It records the erection of an image of Ukūkana-Svāmin by some Ukūkana. The record has been edited by Vogel in *Antiquities*, pp. 248 f., Pl. XL.

34. *Koh stone inscription*

It is incised on the front side of a rectangular stone slab which seems to have formed part of the basement of some lost image. It consists of one line but several letters are completely rubbed off. It merely contains the names of the donor and his ancestors but most of the names are only partly preserved. Of the name of the donor himself, only the first and the

last letters are decipherable. The record contains no date. It was recently discovered from village Koh in the Gudyal paragana of district Chamba, and is now preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba.

35. *National Museum (Delhi) image inscription*

It is incised on the pedestal of a bronze image of goddess Bhairavī. It consists of four lines of which only the first two are clearly written and distinctly visible. It is dated in the reign of Naranāyaka-deva. The exact find spot of the inscription is not known. It is, however, said to hail from Chamba. The identification of Naranāyaka-deva is difficult. He does not figure in the *Vamśāvalī* of the Rajas of Chamba.

36. *Harsar image inscription*

It is incised on the pedestal of a brass image of Śiva, enshrined in a temple at the village of Harsar 10 miles from Baramaor on the road leading into Lahul by the Kukti pass. It is dated in the (*Śāstira*) year 58. The characters of the inscription represent the transition from *Śāradā* to *Devāṣeṣa*.

VI. KANGRA

1—2. The two *Prasastis* of Baijnath

These are incised on two large stone slabs in the famous temple of Baijnath at Baijnath (ancient *Kīra-grāma*) in the Kangra distt. of Himachal Pradesh. The two inscriptions were first partly described by Cunningham in his *Archaeological Report* Vol. V, pp. 180 f. and later edited in full by George Bühler in *EI.*, Vol. I, pp. 97 ff.

The *Praśasti* No. I consists of thirty five lines. It gives an account of the construction of a Śiva temple by two merchant brothers, Manyuka and Āhuka and records the donations made to it by some

pious individuals. It contains an eulogistic account of the ruling chief of *Kiragrāma* named Lakṣamaṇacandra and is dated in the year 80 of the reign of Jayacandra who was the lord of Trigarta to whom Lakṣamaṇacandra owed allegiance. The date of the inscription *Sam 80, Jyeṣṭha, Śukla pratipat*, corresponds to 13th May, 1204 A. D.

The *Praśasti* No. II consists of thirty-three lines. It contains a brief account of the baronial house of *Kiragrāma* to which Lakṣamaṇacandra belonged, right from its founder, named Kanda. It, besides, records the donations made to the Śiva temple by the ruling Chief Lakṣamaṇacandra, by his mother Lakṣanā and by the builders of the temple. It is dated in the Śaka year 1126 which corresponds to A. D. 1204.

3. *Kangra Jain image inscription*

This inscription consisting of eight lines is incised on the pedestal of an image of Pārśvanath in the temple of Indreśvara in the Kangra city. It has been edited by Bühler in *El.*, I, p. 120. It contains a brief account of the family of the donor whose name is unfortunately lost and records the consecration of the image on the base of which it is engraved. It is dated in the year 30 probably of the *Śāstra* year.

VII. DELHI

1. *Palam Baoli inscription*

It is engraved on a stone slab discovered from a baoli as the village of Palam, 12 miles south-west of Delhi. Only the concluding portion of the inscription is in *Śaradā*, the rest is in the *Nāgarī*. It records the sinking of a small tank (*baoli*) by certain Uddhara. It is dated *Vikrama-samvat* 1337 *Śravaṇa va. ti.* 13, Wednesday corresponding either to the 26th June 1280 A.D. or the 13th August 1281 A.D. in the reign of Sultan Ghiyathud-dīn (Ghiyas-u-dīn) Balban.

VIII. RECENT DISCOVERIES

KASHMIR

1. *Srinagar Brahmā image inscription of the time of Sakandara sāha*

This inscription is incised on the base of an image of Brahmā worshipped in the Ganeśa Mandir at Ganpatyar in the heart of the city of Srinagar. The image originally hailing from the village Khrew 14 miles to the north-east of Srinagar has been discovered by my colleague Sh. J. L. Bhan. The inscription records the setting up of the image by Kastavaka, a *Samghapati* and son of Rāhula in the (Laukika) year 85 in the reign of Sakandara Śāha (Sultan Sikandar).

2. *S. P. S. Museum devi image inscription*

The inscription is incised on the back-stone of a stone image of *Simhavāhini* recently acquired by the S.P.S. Museum Srinagar. It records the setting up of the image by Rājaputra Rājadeva and the illustrious Subhapādevī.

Both the inscriptions (Nos. 1 and 2) have been edited by the present writer and will be published in the next issue of the Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India.

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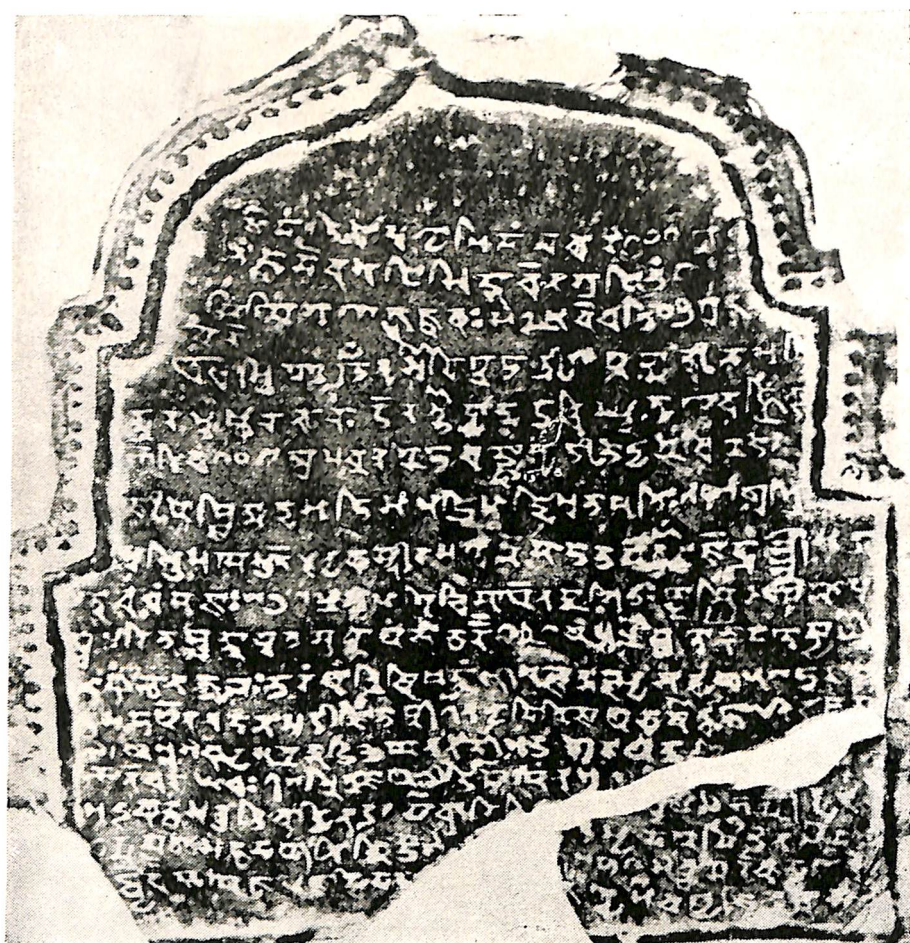
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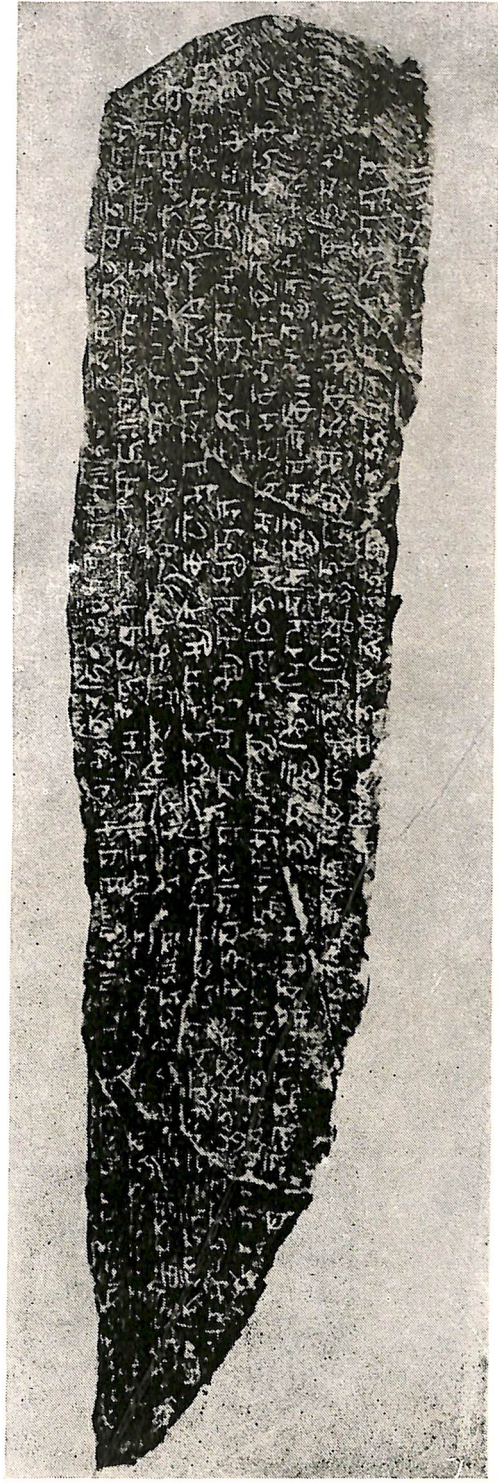


1. Hund Inscription of Kāmeśvaridevi
(*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI)



4. Kotiher (Kashmir) Stone Slab Inscription of the Reign
of Shihab-u-din (Laukika) 45 A.D. 1369.

Courtesy : Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore



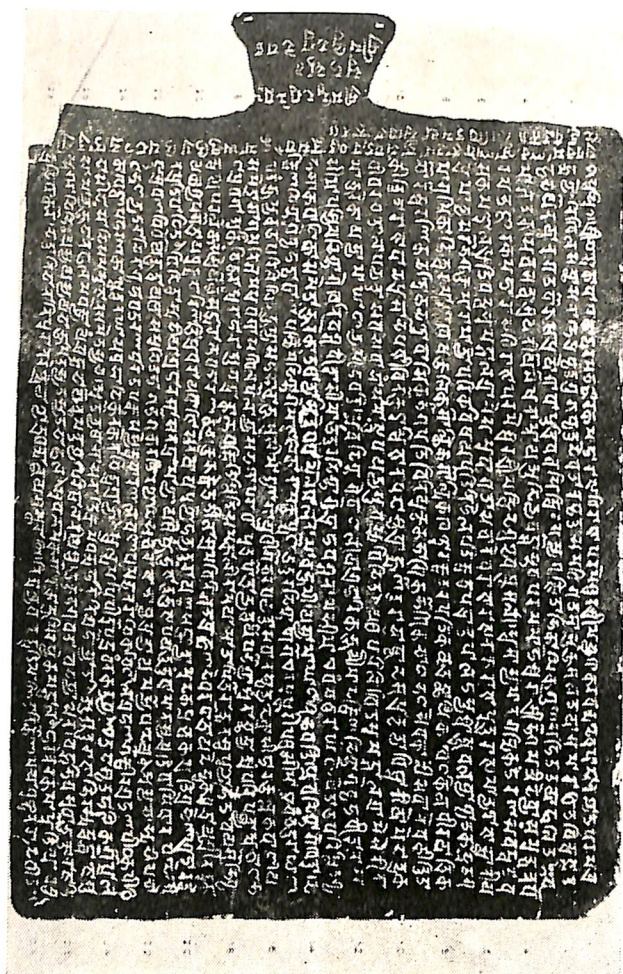
5. Khonamuh (Kashmir) Stone Inscription of the Reign of
Zainul-abidin Kali 4530, (Laukika) 74 A.D. 1428

Courtesy : *Chief Epigraphist*, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore

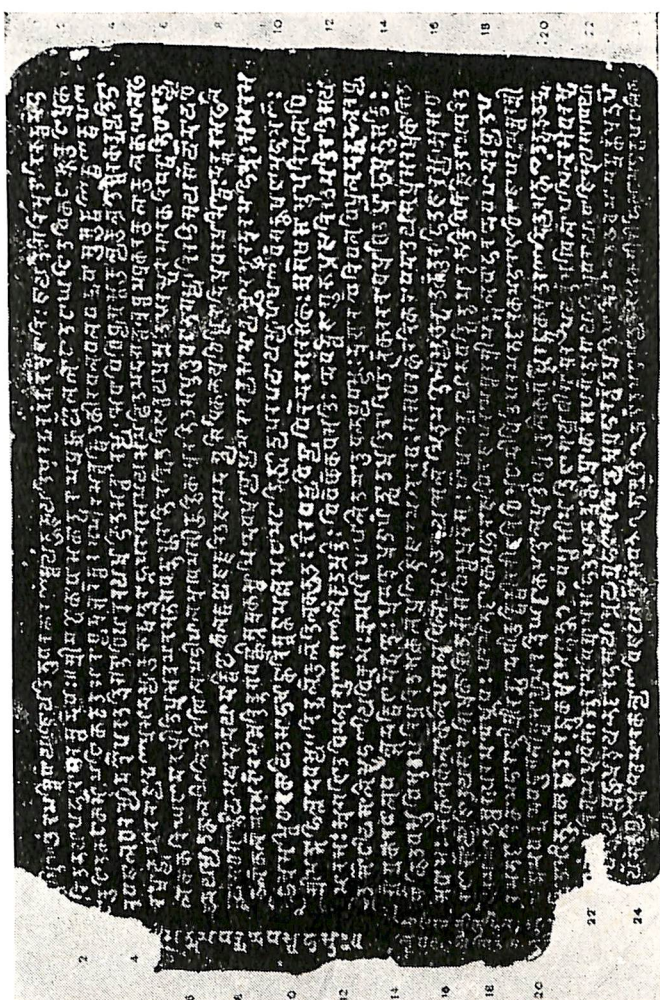


6. Hariparbat (Srinagar) Grave Stone Inscription
of the Reign of Muhammad Shah (Laukika) 760 A.D. 1484

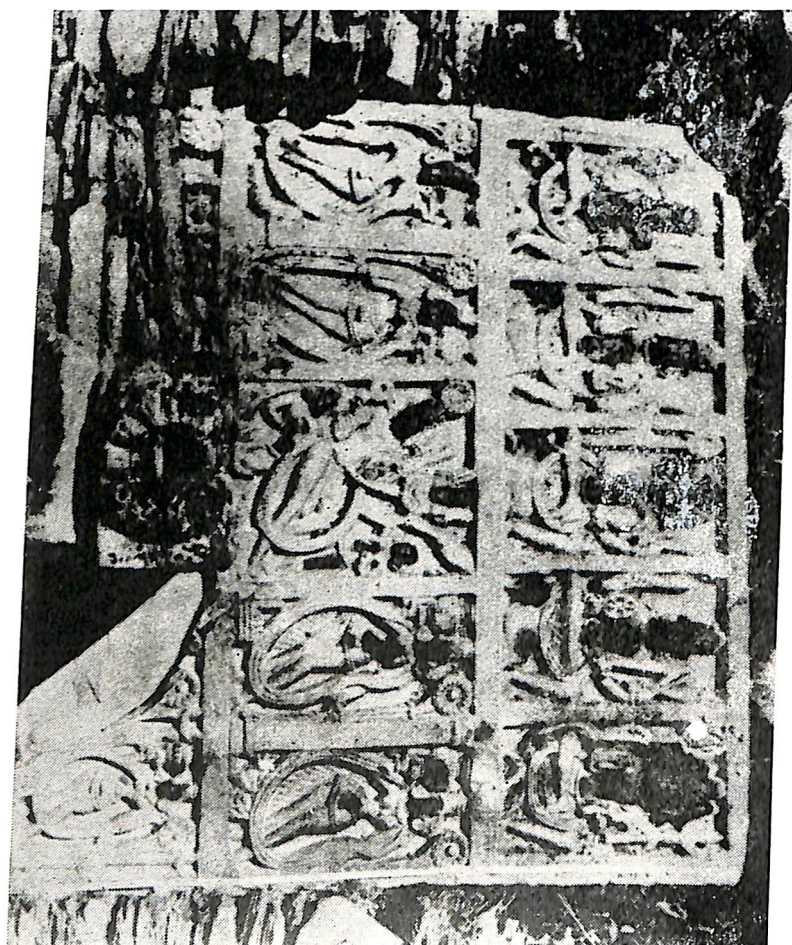
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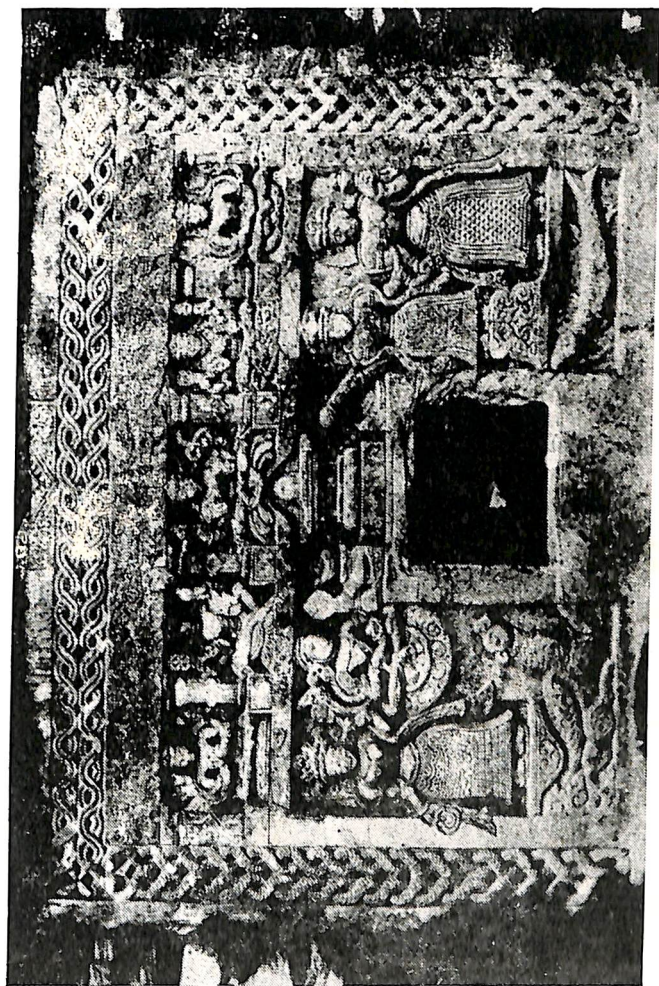
8. /Sungal (Chamb:, H.P.) Copper Plate Grant of Vidagdhdhadeva
 (J.Ph. Vogel's Antiquities of Chamba State, Part I)
 Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi



9. Kulait (Chamba, H.P.) Copper Plate Grant of Somavarman
(J.Ph. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I)
Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi



10. Salhi (Chamba, H.P.) Fountain Stone
Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi



11. Sai Fountain Stone
Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi

